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THE VAJRASŪCĪ OF AŚVAGHOṢA

A Study of the Sanskrit Text and Chinese Version

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With Introduction English Translation and Notes



VISVABHARATI
SANTINIKETAN

सश्रद्धं

महामहोपाध्यायविधुशेखरशास्त्रिणे

वित्तं शान्तिप्रदमिह भवत्येषकीर्तिः हि यत्र
स्मार्तं विद्याभवनमधुना ज्ञानपूर्णं सुगात्रम्।
तस्याध्यक्षः सकलगुणयुतो पूज्य शास्त्रिगुरु यम्
तस्मै दिव्यं पद्ममिलितं पत्रपुष्पं प्रदत्तं ॥

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INTRODUCTION

In Sanskrit Literature, there is a small but quite well-known text called *Vajrasūcī.* It is to be found among the minor Upaniṣads. There is a similar text of the same name which is bigger in size, more *explicit, well-written, but not well-known at all. Not that it* was never printed. During the nineteenth century, it was printed twice; first in 1839, by Lancelot Wilkinson and then by the celebrated scholar A. Weber. *He published it in* Berlin, *in the German Journal ABA*., May, 1859. It was not republished after that until the middle of the twentieth century. The interval was long enough for the text to be buried in oblivion.

After ninety years, in 1949, it was published for the first time by an Indian, in the *Visva-Bharati Annals*, Vol. II. It was reprinted in the next year, and published by the Sino-Indian Cultural Society at Santiniketan.

A revised Second Edition of the treatise is now being published again by Visva-Bharati.

This work is attributed to Aśvaghoṣa, the famous Buddhist poet and philosopher who flourished between 50 B. C. and 50 A. D.

The text begins with these two verses:

"Having paid homage to Mañjughoṣa,
the spiritual teacher of the world,
I, *Aśvaghoṣa compose Vajrasūcī,*
in conformity with the scriptures."

"Vedas are the authorities, Smṛtis are the authorities.
Speeches conformable to duty and interest are the authorities.
He who does not regard the authority as authority,
who will regard his speech as authority?"

After this, there are the following questions:

"Who is Brāhmaṇa? Is the soul Brāhmaṇa? Or the body Brāhmaṇa? Is a man Brāhmaṇa by his birth or is he Brāhmaṇa by his knowledge? Is he Brāhmaṇa by following the traditional usages, or by his profession or by his mastery over the Vedas?"

With the help of quotations from the Vedas, *Mahābhārata* and *Manusmṛti*, it is shown that soul cannot be Brāhmaṇa, as the same soul becomes birds, beasts, human beings as well as gods in different existences.

Does a man become Brāhmana by birth? With passages quoted from the Smṛtis, the author attempts to prove that one does not become Brāhmaṇa by birth or by caste. Viśvāmitra, Kapila and so many others became Brāhmaṇas, though they were not born from Brāhmaṇa mothers.

Now, if one says that when the mother is not Brāhmaṇa, and the father is Brāhmaṇa, the child should be Brāhmaṇa. There is the *following reply:*

"In this case, those who are born from maidservants, conceived by Brāhmaṇas, will also be entitled to be Brāhmanas. But Brāhmaṇas do not want this!

"Moreover, whether the Brāhmaṇas of modern times are born from Brāhmaṇa fathers is very doubtful. Because it is seen from the ancient times that the wives of the Brāhmaṇas had and still have illicit connections with men of all castes, even with the Śūdras.

"So Brāhmaṇahood by birth is absurd.

"According to Manu, if a Brāhmaṇa degrades himself by selling milk, meat, etc., he becomes Śūdra immediately. Now, if one is Brāhmaṇa by birth, how can he change? He may be bad; but does a bad horse change to a pig?

"So this theory of Brāhmaṇahood by birth does not stand.

"The body too cannot be Brāhmaṇa. If the body is Brāhmaṇa, then (in the funeral ceremony) the god of fire commits Brāhmaṇicide (i. e. the great sin of killing a Brāhmaṇa). So do the sons and relations of the deceased Brāhmaṇa.

"Again, if the body is Brāhmaṇa, then all the four castes become Brāhmanas as they were created from the body of the Brahman.

"Does one become Brāhmaṇa by knowledge?

"No. Then *all who have knowledge would become Brāhmaṇas.* There are many Śūdras who are well-versed in the Vedas, and in all branches of knowledge. But they do not become Brāhmaṇas.

"A man is not Brāhmaṇa by his work or by his profession.

"There are many persons in other castes who follow the profession of a Brāhmaṇa, but they are not called Brāhmaṇas.

"Does one become Brāhmaṇa by mastery over the Vedas? No. The demon Rāvaṇa was well-versed in all the four Vedas. Besides, *in every family of demons, Vedic studies were undertaken. But they* did not become Brāhmaṇas.

"Then who is Brāhmaṇa? What is Brāhmaṇahood?

"Brāhmaṇahood is abstinence from all sins. It is clean and beautiful like the *Kunda* flower and the Moon.

"He who is free from lust and ill-will, he who is greedless, selfless, detached from all the objects of the senses, is known as Brāhmaṇa.

"*Truth is Brāhmaṇahood, austerity is Brāhmaṇahood, control* over the senses is Brāhmaṇahood, compassion towards all sentient beings is the characteristic of a Brāhmaṇa."

After describing thus, the characteristics of a Brāhmaṇa by quoting *passages from the scriptures, the author resumes his discussion:*

"You say, Śūdra is the lowest, because his name is cited last. If so, then Indra, the king of gods, becomes worse than even dogs. Because in the aphorism (Pāṇini, 6-4-133), *viz.* "of the dog, youth and Indra...", his name is put last; is he even lower than dogs? In language, *such compounds of words are made without any such intention.* For example, "*umāmaheśvarau*", "*dantauṣṭham*"; *i. e.* "Umā and Maheśvara", "teeth and lips"; it does not mean lips are inferior to the teeth or Maheśvara is inferior to Umā. Neither does it mean teeth came out before lips or Umā before Maheśvara. So is the compound: *Brahma-Kṣatriya-Viṭ-Śūdrāḥ* (Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, and Śūdra).

"Again, no difference or distinction of any kind is found in the constitution of the body of the Brāhmaṇa and other castes, as we find among different animals or among *different trees. Neither do we*

find any distinction in their feelings: in joy, in suffering, in fear or in pain.

"So caste is one and not different.

"You say that Brāhmaṇa was born from the mouth, Kṣatriya from the arms, Vaiśya from the thighs, while Śūdras from the feet of the Brahman; so they are different.

"How can it be? We see jack-fruits and figs grow from all parts of the trees. Some from the trunk, others from the branches, while some others just above the root. Do we find any difference in the fruits?"

After this, the author quotes again passages from the *Mahābhārata* and other scriptures to show that at first, there was only one caste, and then according to professions it was classified into four divisions. Castes were but classes. The system was originally a division of labour.

At the end, again he describes the characteristics of a Brāhmana with apt quotations from the scriptures. They are very high and noble:

"Whose life is for the Law
Whose life is for others,
Who practises tolerance day and night,
He is Brāhmaṇa;
In whom there is tolerance
In whom there is compassion
In whom there is Charity, Purity and Truth,
He is Brāhmana." etc.

In conclusion it is said:

"In order to destroy the delusion of the Brāhmaṇas who have lost all their senses, what we have said here, let the honest men accept if it is reasonable, otherwise let them reject it."

The *Vajrasūcī* became first known to the English-knowing scholars when B H. Hodgson translated it into English in 1829 and

published it in the *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. III, 1835.[1]

B. H. Hodgson and L. Wilkinson (who published the text in 1839, together with the English translation of Hodgson) were both charmed by the democratic spirit of the author of this ancient text, who defends the equality of all classes of human beings : "as they are equal in feelings— in joy and sorrow, in life, in intellect, in conduct, in birth and death, in sexual enjoyment, in fear."

Dr. Winternitz, in his *History of Indian Literature*, (Vol. II, p. 266) remarks : "For the sake of the quotations from Brahmanical texts, if on no other grounds, this work would be of great importance in the history of literature, if only we had certain data about the author and the date of the work."

In reply to this last remark of the great savant, we humbly note that there is sufficient evidence to ascribe the authorship of the *Vajrasūcī* to Aśvaghoṣa

Our edition is made from six Mss Among them, there are two original Mss. which we borrowed from the Asiatic Society of Bengal and from the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute, Poona ; one Transcription made from a Ms. of the Adyar Library, Madras ; and three Rotographs, one from the Cambridge University, and two from India Office, London, which were kindly made for us and sent here, even during the War in Europe.

All these Mss. attribute the work to Aśvaghosa. The Chinese translation which was made by Dharmadeva between 973 and 981 A. D., ascribes it to Bodhisattva Dharmakīrti But this translation is so obscure and defective that we could not make out whether it is really a translation of the original work or a commentary. We find in it additions, omissions and in many places even alterations of the original.

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1 *A Disputation respecting Caste, by Ashu Ghosha.*

VII—A Disputation respecting Caste by a Buddhist, in the form of a Series of Propositions supposed to be put by a Saiva and refuted by the Disputant.—Communicated by B. H. Hodgson, Esq. M. R. A S. Read January 1, 1831.

A letter follows this (Vide Notes, p. 25) before the English translation begins.

It appears to be a different text, a similar work of the same nature, probably an adaptation of the original *Vajrasūcī* by Dharmakīrti,[1] who is said to be its author, in the Chinese translation. So, we do not find any definite evidence against Aśvaghoṣa being the author of the Sanskrit text.

Moreover, there are internal evidences to prove the antiquity of the work Throughout the work, old texts are referred to: the Vedas, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Mānavadharma* (*-śāstra*). Nowhere there is any mention of the Purāṇas.

The author in his introductory verse says :

"The Vedas and the Smṛtis are the authorities."

From all these it appears, at the time, when this work was written, the Purāṇas were either not composed at all or were not old, or well-known enough to be quoted in the work of a distinguished author.

Otherwise, the author who seems to be so well-versed in the Brāhmanical scriptures, must have quoted various useful and more suitable passages than what he has quoted here.

The main objections against the authorship of Aśvaghoṣa raised by eminent scholars like Winternitz are :

(i) It is not enumerated either by I-tsing or in the Tibetan Tanjur among the works of Aśvaghoṣa.

(ii) In the catalogues of the Chinese Tripiṭaka, a *Vajrasūcī*, which is said to contain "a refutation of the four Vedas," and which was translated into Chinese between 973 and 981 A. D., is ascribed to a man named Dharmakīrti (Vide *A History of Indian Literature, Vol II, p. 266*).

The above objections are not at all serious, for :

(i) There are some other important works of Aśvaghoṣa which are neither enumerated by I-tsing nor found in the Chinese and Tibetan Tripiṭaka (Tanjur and Kanjur).

1 Prof. Sylvain Lévi too suggests the same : "It may be that Dharmakīrti made a New Edition, revised and complete, from the treatise composed originally by Aśvaghoṣa " *Journal Asiatique*, 1908, S. 10, T. XII, p. 71.

For example, the *Saundarananda* and the *Śāriputra-Prakaraṇa* are not enumerated by I-tsing. They are to be found neither in the Chinese nor Tibetan.

(ii) As we have already remarked the Chinese version which is attributed to Dharmakīrti appears to be a different work ; for its standpoint is fundamentally different from the original (Sanskrit) *Vajrasūcī* In the original *Vajrasūcī*, there is nowhere any refutation of Brāhmaṇical scriptures ; on the contrary, it is the Brāhmanical scriptures that are used as its support ; while in the Chinese *Vajrasūcī* there is '*a refutation of the four Vedas*' which are the foundation of all Brāhmaṇical scriptures.

The very words of Dr. Winternitz may be utilized in support of the authorship of Aśvaghoṣa :

"Both in the *Buddhacarita* and the *Saundarānanda* (*Saundarananda*) there are abundant allusions to Brahmanical legends and epic narratives ....

"The *Vajrasūcī* ... also reveals an intimate knowledge of Brahmanical literature ...

"This work refutes the Brahmanical caste system very cuttingly. The author's method is extremely effective, for he takes up the *Brahmanical standpoint*, and seeks to prove from the *Brahmanical texts themselves, by quotations from the Veda*, the *Mahābhārata* and the law-book of Manu, how frail the claims of the Brahman caste are.

"They (Hodgson and Wilkinson) were quite charmed with the democratic spirit with which the author defends *the equality of all* classes of men

"For the sake of the quotations from Brahmanical texts, if on no other grounds, this work would be of great importance, in the history of literature ..." *Ibid*, pp 265-6.

This little work which hardly *covers even ten* pages *in print, is so highly spoken of, by such* an eminent scholar that it is proved *to be the work of a master mind*. That is further supported by the high tributes paid to it by Hodgson :

"It consists of a shrewd and argumentative attack, by a *Bauddha* upon the Brahmanical doctrine of caste: and what adds to its pungency is, that throughout, *the truth of the Brahmanical writings is assumed*, and that the author's proofs of the erroneousness of the doctrine of *caste are all drawn from those writings. He possesses himself of the enemy's battery, and turns their own guns*[1] against them ...

"We all know that the Brahmans scorn to consider the Sudras as of the same nature with themselves, in this respect resembling the bigoted Christians of the dark ages, who deemed in like manner of the Jews The manner in which our author treats this part of his subject is, in my judgment, *admirable* ! .. Indeed it bears the closest resemblance to the style of argument used by Shakspeare, in covertly assailing the analogous European prejudice already averted to. I need not point more particularly to the glorious passage in The Merchant of Venice: "Hath not a Jew eyes, hands, organs, dimensions, senses, passions; *fed with the same food, hurt by the same diseases ?" etc etc*[2]

And as all the Mss, both in the beginnings and in the colophons, ascribe the work to Aśvaghosa, it is quite reasonable to conclude that the work was written by no other Master mind than Aśvaghoṣa.

A comparative study of the *Buddhacarita*, *Saundarananda* and *Vajrasūcī*, will also result in the same conclusion.

The Chinese translation most probably made by a Chinese is full of mistakes. Some of them are really ridiculous For example:

(i) In one place, Ṛṣi Viśvāmitra is taken as two persons One is Viśva and the other is Mitra. In other places, he is taken as one.

(ii) In the text it is said, '(mother) Ulūkī gave birth to Ṛṣi Keśapingala, while (mother) Tittirī to Rsi Tittiri'. It has been translated, 'father Ulūkī gave birth to Keśapiṅgala, father Tittirī gave birth to Ṛṣi Tittiri'.

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1 These quotations from Winternitz and Hodgson italicized by us support the views of Sylvain Lévi and mine that the *Vajrasūcī* by Dharmakīrti is a different work

2 Cf. *Vajrasūcī*: "Neither in their limbs, nor in skin, blood, flesh, bones ... nor in their issues, any distinction is found. They are equal in joy and sorrow, ... in birth and death, in sensual enjoyment. "

(iii) *Renukā 'janayadrāmam*, *i. e.* Reṇukā gave birth to Rāma. This sentence is translated as—'Nukā gave birth to *Drāma*'.[1]

We cannot believe that Dharmadeva who is said to be an Indian and a Śramaṇa from Nālandā could make such ridiculous mistakes. The translator must have been a Non-Indian, probably a Chinese, a pupil of Dharmadeva, who with a superficial knowledge of Sanskrit translated the text, with occasional help from his teacher and paid tribute to him, by attributing to him the authorship of the translation.

The Sanskrit text is quite clear. Only in a few places there are mistakes which we have tried to correct. In this, we got some help from the edition of Dr. Weber. In one place, the reading is indistinct. Here we got no help either from Dr. Weber's or Wilkinson's editions or from the Chinese translation.

We are glad to note that the indistinct reading is now made clear, with the help of the Ms. of the Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna. We express our deep gratitude to the late lamented Dr. A. S. Altekar, Director, Jayaswal Research Institute, who, just before his death, very kindly sent us a copy from the said Ms. of the passage in question.[2]

Dr. J. Takakusu in his Japanese translation of *Vajrasūcī*, remarks that this text of *Vajrasūcī* is a commentary to the *Vajrasūcī-Upaniṣad.* One of our Mss. also gives it the name of commentary :

"atha vajrasūcyupaniṣad vyākhyā."

But it is not at all a commentary. It is not written in the way in which a commentary is written. It is similar, bigger and more explicit, and so has been wrongly taken for a commentary. But similarity, expansion and explicity are not the only characteristics of a commentary. Except these, there is nothing else, in this text, which we expect to find in a commentary.

1 Hodgson's translation of this is also interesting : '*Rāma* (was born) from dust'.

2 I was very eager to collate this Ms., but unfortunately, that was not possible. My appeal to the Secretary, Bihar Research Society (who is the Custodian of the Mss. of the JRI.), received no response.

On the other hand, we find signs which go against the supposition of its being a commentary of the Upaniṣad. For example :

(i) Some of the questions as well as their answers which are found in the *Vajrasūcyupaniṣad* are omitted in the text.

(ii) The important passages, describing the characteristics of a Brāhmaṇa, are different in these two texts.

(iii) In the *Vajrasūcyupaniṣad*, Ṛṣi Viśvāmitra is said to be born from a Kṣatriya mother, Gautama from the back of a rabbit and Agastya from an earthen pot. While according to this text, Viśvāmitra was born from a Caṇḍāla woman, Gautama from a clump of reeds and Agastya from the *Agasti* flower.

How can a commentary differ from the text like this ? In fact, the *Vajrasūcyupaniṣad* (even if Śankara is not its author) is a Brāhmaṇical version of this text,[1] where the adverse criticism and vehement attacks on the Brāhmanas are omitted We find there also an attempt to correct the history of the birth of Ṛsis, as Agastya was born from the earthen pot (and not from *Agasti* flower).

We quote here in support of our view, the following observations of the great Indian scholar, Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasad Śāstrī :

"Besides, the works attributed to him (Aśvaghoṣa) by Nanjio and Suzuki, there is another work known in India alone which has undergone a peculiar transformation in the hands of the followers of Śaṁkara This work is entitled *Vajrasūcī* or diamond-needle. It is a polemical work written with great power against the caste-system. Professor Bendall describes it in his Cambridge Catalogue. Rev. Mr. Williamson (Wilkinson) got a copy of the work at Elichpur, in the Berars, published it in 1839, with a refutation by a Brāhmana, entitled *Vajrasūcītanka*[2] A Ms of the work is to be found in our Library. But in our Library there are other copies of the *Vajrasūcī* written

1 That the Upaniṣad was composed much later may be seen also from the mention of the Purāṇas there along with the Vedas and Smṛtis.

It may be evidenced from the word *āpta* which was used as an adjective of the Upaniṣad : *Āptavajrasūcī*, see Weber, *The History of Indian Literature*, p. 161.

2 The history of its origin is very interesting : The Pandit employed by Wilkinson refused to cooperate with him, until he promised to append a Rejoinder.

वज्रसूची

वज्रसूची[1]

ओं नमो मञ्जुनाथाय[2]।

जगद्गुरुं मञ्जुघोषं नत्वा वाक्कायचेतसा।
अश्वघोषो वज्रसूचीं सूत्रयामि यथामतम्॥१॥

वेदाः प्रमाणं स्मृतयः प्रमाणं धर्मार्थयुक्तं वचनं प्रमाणम्।
यस्य प्रमाणं न भवेत्प्रमाणं कस्तस्य कुर्याद्वचनं प्रमाणम्॥२॥

[A] इह भवता यदिष्टं 'सर्ववर्णप्रधानं ब्राह्मणवर्णं' इति, वयमत्र ब्रूमः, कोऽयं ब्राह्मणो नाम। किं जीवः किं जातिः[3] किं शरीरं किं ज्ञानं किमाचारः किं कर्म किं वेद इति।

[B] तत्र जीवस्तावद्[4] ब्राह्मणो न भवति। कस्माद्। वेदस्य[5] प्रामाण्याद्। उक्तं हि वेदे :

[C] 'ओं सूर्यः पशुरासीत्, सोमः पशुरासीद्, इन्द्रः पशुरासीत्।' पशवो देवाः। आद्यन्ते[6] देवपशवः। श्वपाका अपि देवा[7] भवन्ति।

[D] अतो वेदप्रामाण्यान्मन्यामहे जीवत्वाद् ब्राह्मणो न भवति। भारतप्रामाण्यादपि। उक्तं हि भारते :

सप्तव्याधा दशार्णेषु[8] मृगाः कालञ्जरे[9] गिरौ।

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1 B, धीः। अथ वज्रसूचीग्रन्थः। A, I[1], I[2] omit it. Ad, वज्रसूच्युपनिषद्व्याख्या। 2 Ad, B, Wil. omit this sentence. 3 A, C, I[1], I[2] omit it. 4 A, C, I[1], I[2], जीवत्वाद्। 5 B, Ad, Wil. वेद०। 6 B, Ad, Wil. अश्नन्ते, Ch आश्नन्ति। 7 A, सम्भवा। 8 Mss. दशार्णे। 9 A, Ch, कालि०, Ad, C, I[1], I[2], Wil. कालिञ्जरे।

चक्रवाकाः शरद्वीपे हंसाः सरसि मानसे ॥३॥
तेऽपि जाताः कुरुक्षेत्रे ब्राह्मणा वेदपारगाः ॥४॥

[E] अतो भारतप्रामाण्याद् व्याधमृगहंसचक्रवाकदर्शनसम्भवान्मन्यामहे जीवस्तावद् ब्राह्मणो न भवति। मानवधर्मप्रामाण्यादपि[10]। उक्तं हि मानवे धर्मे :

अधीत्य चतुरो वेदान्साङ्गोपाङ्गेन तत्त्वतः।
शूद्रात्प्रतिग्रहग्राही ब्राह्मणो जायते खरः ॥५॥
खरो द्वादशजन्मानि षष्टिजन्मानि सूकरः[11]।
श्वानः सप्ततिजन्मानि—इत्येवं मनुरब्रवीत् ॥६॥

[F] अतो मानवधर्मप्रामाण्याज्जीवस्तावद् ब्राह्मणो न भवति।

[G] जातिरपि ब्राह्मणो न भवति। कस्मात्। स्मृतिप्रामाण्याद्। उक्तं हि स्मृतौ :

हस्तिन्यामचलो जात उलूक्यां केशपिङ्गलः।
अगस्त्योऽगस्तिपुष्पाच्च कौशिकः कुशसम्भवः ॥७॥
कपिलः कपिलाजातः शर[12]गुल्माच्च गौतमः।
द्रोणाचार्यस्तु कलशात्तित्तिरिस्तित्तिरीसुतः ॥८॥
रेणुकाऽजनयद्रामसृष्यश्रृङ्गमुनिं मृगी।
कैवर्तिन्यजनयद् व्यासं कुशिकं[13] चैव शूद्रिका ॥९॥
विश्वामित्रं च चण्डाली[14] वसिष्ठं चैव उर्वशी।
न तेषां ब्राह्मणी माता लोकाचाराच्च ब्राह्मणाः ॥१०॥

[H] अतः स्मृतिप्रामाण्या[15]न्मन्यामहे जातिस्तावद् ब्राह्मणो न भवति।

[I] अथ मन्यसे माता वाऽब्राह्मणी भवेत्। तेषां पिता ब्राह्मण[16]स्ततो

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10 Ad, B, C, I¹, I², Wil. omit अपि। 11 A, B, C, I², शू०।
12 A, Ad, C, I², Wil. शाल०, B शालि०, I¹, शाल०, शार०।
13 Mss. कौ०। 14 B, चाण्डाली। A, B, C, I¹, I², वशिष्ठं।
15 B, Ad, Wil. ०ण्याज्जाति०। 16 Mss. omit ब्राह्मणः।

ब्राह्मणो भवतीति । यद्येवं दासीपुत्रा अपि ब्राह्मणजनिता ब्राह्मणा भवेयुः । न चैतद्भवतामिष्टम् ।

[J] किं च । यदि ब्राह्मणपुत्रो ब्राह्मणस्तर्हि ब्राह्मणाभावः प्राप्नोति । इदानीन्तनेषु ब्राह्मणेषु पितरि सन्देहाद् । गोत्रब्राह्मणमारभ्य ब्राह्मणीनां शूद्रा-[17]भिगमनदर्शनाद् । अतो[18] जातिर्ब्राह्मणो न भवति । मानवधर्मप्रामाण्यादपि । उक्तं हि मानवे[19] धर्मे :

सद्यः पतति मांसेन लाक्षया लवणेन च ।
त्र्यहाच्छूद्रश्च भवति ब्राह्मणः क्षीरविक्रयी ॥११॥
आकाशगामिनो विप्राः पतन्ति[20] मांसभक्षणात् ।
विप्राणां पतनं दृष्ट्वा ततो मांसानि वर्जयेत् ॥१२॥

[K] अतो मानवधर्मप्रामाण्याज्जातिस्तावद् ब्राह्मणो न भवति । यदि हि जातिर्ब्राह्मणः स्यात्, तदा पतने[21] शूद्रभावो नोपपद्यते । किं खलु दु[22]ष्टोऽप्यश्वः सूकरो[23] भवेत् । तस्माज्जातिरपि ब्राह्मणो न भवति[24] ।

[L] शरीरमपि ब्राह्मणो न भवति । कस्माद्[25] । यदि शरीरं ब्राह्मणः स्यात् तर्हि पावकोऽपि ब्रह्महा[26] स्याद् । ब्रह्महत्या च बन्धूनां शरीरदहनाद्भवेद् । ब्राह्मणशरीरनिस्यन्दजाताश्च क्षत्रियवैश्यशूद्रा अपि ब्राह्मणाः स्युः । न चैतद् दृष्टं । ब्राह्मणशरीरविनाशाच्च यजनयाजनाध्ययनाध्यापनदानप्रतिग्रहादीनां ब्राह्मण-शरीरजनितानां फलस्य विनाशः स्यात् । न चैतदिष्टम्[27] । अतो मन्यामहे शरीरमपि ब्राह्मणो न भवति ।

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17 B, Ad, Wil. शूद्रपर्यन्तमभि० । 18 A, C, I[1], I[2], ततो । 19 A, I[2], ०धo । 20 B, Ad, Wil. ०न्ते । 21 Mss. ०न० । 22 A, C, I[1], I[2], द० । 23 A, B, C, I[2], शू० । 24 B, Ad, Wil. भवेत् । 25 A, C, I[1], I[1], य० । 26 Ad, C, I[1], Wil. ब्राह्मणहा, I[2], ब्रह्महा । 27 A, B, C, I[1], I[2], Wil. ०दृष्टं ।

[M] ज्ञानमपि ब्राह्मणो न भवति । कुतः । ज्ञानबाहुल्याद् । ये ये ज्ञानवन्तः शूद्रास्ते सर्वे एव ब्राह्मणाः स्युः । दृश्यन्ते[28] च क्वचित् शूद्रा अपि वेदव्याकरणमीमांसासांख्यवैशेषिकलग्ना[29]जीवकादिसर्वशास्त्रार्थविदः । न च ते ब्राह्मणाः स्युः । अतो मन्यामहे ज्ञानमपि ब्राह्मणो न भवति ।

[N] आचारोऽपि ब्राह्मणो न भवति । कुतः[30] । यद्याचारो ब्राह्मणः स्यात्[31] तदा ये य आचारवन्तः शूद्रास्ते सर्वे ब्राह्मणाः स्युः । दृश्यन्ते च नटभट-[32]कैवर्तभण्डप्रभृतयः प्रचण्डतरविविधाचारवन्तो, न च ते ब्राह्मणा भवन्ति । तस्मादाचारोऽपि ब्राह्मणो[33] न भवति ।

[O] कर्मापि ब्राह्मणो न भवति । कुतः । दृश्यन्ते हि[34] क्षत्रियवैश्य-शूद्रा यजनयाजनाध्ययनाध्यापनदानप्रतिग्रहप्रसङ्ग[35]विविधानि कर्माणि कुर्वन्तो, न च ते ब्राह्मणा भवतां सम्मताः । तस्मात्कर्मापि ब्राह्मणो न भवति ।

[P] वेदेनापि ब्राह्मणो न भवति । कस्माद् । रावणो नाम राक्षसोऽभूत् । तेनाधीताश्चत्वारो वेदाः । ऋग्वेदो यजुर्वेदः सामवेदोऽथर्ववेदश्चेति । राक्षसानामपि गृहे गृहे वेदव्यवहारः प्रवर्तत एव । न च ते ब्राह्मणाः स्युः । अतो मन्यामहे वेदेनापि ब्राह्मणो न भवतीति[36] ।

[Q] कथं तर्हि ब्राह्मणत्वं भवति । उच्यते :

ब्राह्मणत्वं न शास्त्रेण न संस्कारैर्न जातिभिः ।
न कुलेन न वेदेन न[37] कर्मणा भवेत्ततः ॥१३॥

[R] कुन्देन्दुधवलं हि ब्राह्मणत्वं[38] नाम सर्वपापस्यापा[39]करणमिति ।

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28 A, Ad, C, I^2, दृश्यते । 29 Mss. ०ल० । Ad, ०लभाजीवि० ।
30 B, Ad, Wil. omit it. 31 B, भवेत् । 32 A, ०भटमण्डकै० ।
33 A, ०णोऽपि । 34 B omits it. 35 B, Ad, Wil. ०ग्रादि० ।
36 A, C, I^1, I^2 omit इति । 37 B, Ad, I^1, Wil. कर्मणा न ।
38 A, ०णं हि, C, ०ण नाम, I^2, ०णं नाम । 39 A, C, I^1, I^2, ०प० ।

[S] उक्तं हि। व्रततपोनियमोपवासदानदमशमसंयमो[40]पचाराच्च। तथा चोक्तं वेदे :

निर्ममो[41] निरहङ्कारो निःसङ्गो निष्परिग्रहः।
रागद्वेषविनिर्मुक्तस्तं देवा ब्राह्मणं विदुः ॥१४॥

सर्वशास्त्रेऽप्युक्तं :

सत्यं ब्रह्म तपो ब्रह्म ब्रह्म चेन्द्रियनिग्रहः।
सर्वभूते दया ब्रह्म एतद् ब्राह्मणलक्षणम् ॥१५॥
सत्यं नास्ति तपो नास्ति नास्ति चेन्द्रियनिग्रहः।
सर्वभूते दया नास्ति एतच्चा[42]ण्डाललक्षणम् ॥१६॥
देवमानुष[43]नारीणां तिर्यग्योनिगतेष्वपि।
मैथुनं नाधिगच्छन्ति ते विप्रास्ते च ब्राह्मणाः ॥ इति[44] ॥१७॥

शुक्रेणाप्युक्तं :

न जातिर्दृश्यते तावद् गुणाः कल्याणकारकाः।
चण्डालोऽपि हि तत्रस्थस्तं देवा ब्राह्मणं विदुः ॥१८॥

[T] तस्मान्न जातिर्न जीवो न शरीरं न ज्ञानं नाचारो न कर्म न वेदो ब्राह्मण इति।

[U] अन्यच्च भवतोक्तम्। 'इह शूद्राणां प्रव्रज्या न विधीयते। ब्राह्मण-शुश्रूषैव तेषां धर्मो विधीयते। चतुर्षु वर्णेष्वन्ते वचनात्ते नीचा' इति।

[V] यद्येवमिन्द्रोऽपि नीचः स्यात्। 'श्वयुवमघोनामतद्धिते' इति सूत्र-वचनात्। श्वा इति[45] कुक्कुरः। युवा इति[46] पुरुषः। मघवा इति[47] सुरेन्द्रः। तयोः श्व[48]पुरुषयोरिन्द्र एव नीचः स्यात्। न चैतद् दृष्टं[49]। किं हि[50] वचनमात्रेण दोषो भवति। तथा च। उमामहेश्वरौ। दन्तोष्ठमित्यपि[51] लोके प्रयुज्यते।

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40 A, ॰माचा॰। 41 A, C, I¹, I², ॰दो। 42 Ad, Wil. ॰च॰। 43 A, C, I¹, I², मनुष्य। 44 B omits. 45, 46, 47 Ad, B, Wil. omit इति। 48 A, C, I¹, I² omit श्व। 49 A, I², दृष्टं। 50 C omits it. 51 A, C, I¹, I² omit इति।

न च दन्ताः प्रागुत्पन्ना उमा[52] वा। केवलं वर्णसमासमात्रं क्रियते। ब्रह्मक्षत्र-[53] विट्शूद्रा इति। तस्माद्या भवदीय[54]प्रतिज्ञा 'ब्राह्मणशुश्रूषैव तेषां धर्मो', [सा] न[55] भवति।

[W] किं चानिश्चितोऽयं ब्राह्मणप्रसङ्गः। उक्तं हि मानवे[56] धर्मे :

वृषलीफेनपीतस्य निःश्वासोपहतस्य च।
तत्रैव च प्रसूतस्य निष्कृतिर्नोपलभ्यते ॥१९॥
शूद्रीहस्तेन यो भुंक्ते मासमेकं निरन्तरम्।
जीवमानो भवेच्छूद्रो मृतः श्वानश्च जायते ॥२०॥
शूद्रीपरिवृतो[57] विप्रः शूद्री च गृहमेधिनी।
वर्जितः पितृदेवेन रौरवं सोऽधिगच्छति ॥२१॥

[X] अतोऽस्य वचनस्य[58] प्रामाण्यादनियतोऽयं ब्राह्मणप्रसङ्गः।

[Y] किं चान्यत्। शूद्रोऽपि ब्राह्मणो भवति। को हेतुः। इह हि मानवे धर्मेऽभिहितं :

अरणी[59]गर्भसम्भूतः कठो[60] नाम महामुनिः।
तपसा ब्राह्मणो जातस्तस्माज्जातिरकारणम् ॥२२॥
कैवर्तीगर्भसम्भूतो व्यासो नाम महामुनिः।
तपसा ब्राह्मणो जातस्तस्माज्जातिरकारणम् ॥[61]॥२३॥
उर्वशीगर्भसम्भूतो वसि[62]ष्ठोऽपि[63] महामुनिः।
तपसा ब्राह्मणो जातस्तस्माज्जातिरकारणम् ॥२४॥
हरिणीगर्भसम्भूत ऋष्यशृङ्गो महामुनिः।
तपसा ब्राह्मणो जातस्तस्माज्जातिरकारणम् ॥२५॥

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52 Mss. उत्पन्ना। 53 C, I^1, I^2, ॰क्षत्रिय॰, A, ब्राह्मक्षत्रिय॰। 54 Ad, B, Wil. ॰या। 55 A, C, I^2 omit न। 56 C, ॰व॰। B omits धर्मे। 57 Ch, ॰णीतो। 58 A, C, I^1, I^2, ॰वचनप्रा॰। 59 Ch, हरिणी, I^1, Ad, Wil. अरिणी। 60 A, C, I^1, I^2, Ch, कठिनो। 61 Ad, B, Wil. omit this *śloka*. 62 A, B, C, I^1, I^2, ॰शि॰। 63 A, C, I^1, I^2, ॰ष्ठो नाम।

[BB] अत्रोच्यते। ब्राह्मणा बहवो, न ज्ञायन्ते कुतो मुखतो जाता ब्राह्मणा इति[82]। इह हि कैवर्तरजकचण्डालकुलेष्वपि ब्राह्मणाः सन्ति। तेषामपि चूडाकरणमुञ्जदण्ड[83]काष्ठादिभिः[84] संस्काराः क्रियन्ते। तेषामपि ब्राह्मणसंज्ञा क्रियते। तस्माद् ब्राह्मणवत्क्षत्रिया[85]दयोऽपि। इति[86] पश्याम एकवर्णो, नास्ति चातुर्वर्ण्यमिति।

[CC] अपि च। एकपुरुषोत्पन्नानां कथं चातुर्वर्ण्यम्। इह कश्चिद्देवदत्त एकस्यां स्त्रियां चतुरः पुत्राञ् जनयति। न च तेषां वर्णभेदोऽस्ति। अयं ब्राह्मणोऽयं क्षत्रियोऽयं वैश्योऽयं शूद्र इति। कस्माद्। एकपितृक[87]त्वाद्। एवं ब्राह्मणादीनां कथं चातुर्वर्ण्यम्।

[DD] इह हि गोहस्त्यश्वमृगसिंहव्याघ्रादीनां पदविशेषो दृष्टः। गोपदमिदं हस्तिपदमिदमश्वपदमिदं मृगपदमिदं[88] सिंहपदमिदं व्याघ्रपदमिदमिति[89]। न च ब्राह्मणादीनां[90] ब्राह्मणपदमिदं क्षत्रियपदमिदं वैश्यपदमिदं शूद्रपदमिदमिति[91]। अतः पदविशेषाभावादपि पश्याम एकवर्णो, नास्ति चातुर्वर्ण्यम्।

[EE] इह गोमहिषाश्वकुञ्जरखरवानरच्छागैडकादीनां भगलिङ्गवर्णसंस्थानमलमूत्र[92]गन्धध्वनिविशेषो दृष्टः। न तु ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियादीनाम्। अतोऽप्यविशेषादेक एव वर्ण इति।

[FF] अपि च। यथा हंसपारावतशुककोकिलशिखण्डिप्रभृतीनां रूपवर्णलोमतुण्डविशेषो दृष्टः। न तथा ब्राह्मणादीनाम्। अतोऽप्यविशेषादेक एव वर्ण इति।

[GG] यथा वटबकुलपलाशाशोकतमालनागकेसर[93]शिरीषचम्पकप्रभृतीनां वृक्षाणां, विशेषो दृश्यते, यदुत[94] दण्डतश्च पत्रतश्च पुष्पतश्च फलतश्च

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82 A omits it. 83 Ad, B, C, I¹, I², Wil. दन्त (Ch दण्ड)। 84 Ad, B, Wil. ०दिसंस्का०। 85 A, C, I¹, I², क्षत्रा०। 86 A, C, I¹, I² omit इति। 87 A, C, I¹, I² omit क। 88 A, C, I¹, I² omit मृगपद०। 89 A, C, I¹, I² omit इति। 90 A C, I¹, I² add च। 91 C, I² omit इदं। 92 A *omits it.* 93 A, C, I¹, I², ०शर०। 94 Ad, B, Wil. यतो।

त्वगस्थिवीजरसगन्धतश्च, न तथा ब्राह्मण[95]क्षत्रियविट्शूद्राणामङ्गप्रत्यङ्गविशेषो न च त्वङ्मांसशोणितास्थिशुक्रमलवर्णसंस्थानविशेषणं नापि प्रसवविशेषो दृश्यते। ततोऽप्यविशेषादेक एव वर्णो भवति।

[HH] अपि भो *ब्राह्मण* सुखदुःखजीवितबुद्धिव्यापारव्यवहारमरणोत्पत्तिभयमैथुनोपचारसमतया नास्त्येव विशेषो ब्राह्मणादीनाम्।

[II] इदं चावगम्यतां। यथैकवृक्षोत्पन्नानां फलानां नास्ति वर्णभेद[96] उदुम्बरपणसफलवद्। उदुम्बरस्य हि पणसस्य च फलानि कानिचित् शाखातो भवन्ति कानिचिद् दण्डतः कानिचित्स्कन्धतः कानिचिन्मूलतः। न च तेषां भेदोऽस्तीदं ब्राह्मण[97]फलमिदं क्षत्रियफलमिदं वैश्यफलमिदं शूद्रफलमिति। एकवृक्षोत्पन्नत्वाद्। एवं नराणामपि नास्ति भेदः। एकपुरुषोत्पन्नत्वाद्।

[JJ] अन्यच्च दूषणं भवति। यदि मुखतो[98] जातो भवति ब्राह्मणो ब्राह्मण्याः कुत उत्पत्तिः। मुखादेवेति चेद्। हन्त तर्हि भवतां भगिनीप्रसङ्गः स्यात्। तथा गम्यागम्यं न सम्भाव्यते। तच्च लोकेऽत्यन्तविरुद्धं। तस्मादनियतं ब्राह्मण्यम्।

[KK] क्रियाविशेषेण खलु चतुर्वर्णव्यवस्था क्रियते। तथा च युधिष्ठिराद्येपितेन वैशम्पायनेनाभिहितं क्रियाविशेषतश्चातुर्वर्ण्यमिति :

पाण्डोस्तु[99] विश्रुतः पुत्रः स वै नाम्ना युधिष्ठिरः।
वैशम्पायनमागम्य प्राञ्जलिः परिपृच्छति ॥३२॥
के च[100] ते ब्राह्मणाः प्रोक्ताः किं वा ब्राह्मणलक्षणम्।
एतदिच्छामि भो ज्ञातुं तद्भवान् व्याकरोतु मे ॥३३॥

वैशम्पायन उवाच :

क्षान्त्यादिभिर्गुणैर्युक्तस्त्यक्तदण्डो निरामिषः।
न हन्ति सर्वभूतानि प्रथमं ब्रह्मलक्षणम् ॥३४॥

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95 Ad, B, Wil. ब्रह्म। 96 A, I[2] add : स्तथैकपुरुषोत्पन्नानां पुरुषाणां नास्ति वर्णभेदः। 97 B, ब्रा[ह्म]णस्य। 98 A, ब्राह्मणो जातो ब्राह्मण्याः०। 99 Mss. पण्डितो। 100 A, C, I[2], ०चै०।

यदा सर्वं परद्रव्यं पथि वा[101] यदि वा गृहे ।
अदत्तं नैव गृह्णाति द्वितीयं ब्रह्मलक्षणम् ॥३५॥
त्यक्त्वा क्रूरस्व[102] भावं तु निर्ममो निष्परिग्रहः ।
मुक्तश्चरति यो नित्यं तृतीयं ब्रह्मलक्षणम् ॥३६॥
देवमानुष[103] नारीणां तिर्यग्योनिगतेष्वपि ।
मैथुनं हि सदा त्यक्तं चतुर्थं ब्रह्मलक्षणम् ॥३७॥
सत्यं शौचं दया शौचं शौचमिन्द्रियनिग्रहः ।
सर्वभूत[104] दया शौचं तपः शौचञ्च[105] पञ्चमम्[106] ॥३८॥
पञ्चलक्षणसम्पन्न ईदृशो यो भवेद् द्विजः ।
तमहं ब्राह्मणं ब्रूयां शेषाः शूद्रा युधिष्ठिर ॥३९॥
न कुलेन न जात्या वा क्रियाभिर्ब्राह्मणो भवेत्[107] ।
चण्डालो[108] ऽपि हि वृत्तस्थो ब्राह्मणः स युधिष्ठिर[109] ॥४०॥

किं च भूयो वैशम्पायनेनोक्तम् :

एकवर्णमिदं पूर्वं[110] विश्वमासीद् युधिष्ठिर ।
कर्मक्रियाविशेषेण चातुर्वर्ण्यं प्रतिष्ठितम् ॥४१॥
सर्वे वै योनिजा मर्त्याः सर्वे मूत्रपुरीषिणः ।
एकेन्द्रियेन्द्रियार्थाश्च तस्माच्छीलगुणैर्द्विजाः ॥४२॥
शूद्रोऽपि शीलसम्पन्नो गुणवान् ब्राह्मणो भवेत् ।
ब्राह्मणोऽपि क्रियाहीनः शूद्रात्प्रत्यवरो[111] भवेत् ॥४३॥

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101 I^1, वाप्यथ । 102 A, C, I^1, I^2, ०स्य० । 103 A, C, I^1, I^2, मनुष्य । 104 Ad, Wil. ०ते० । 105 A, ०न्तु । 106 B omits 'शौचमिन्द्रिय० सर्वभूतदया शौचं' । 107 A, C, I^1, I^2, न च । 108 B, चाण्डा[लि]को । 109 A adds here the following *śloka* which is found also in I^2, but within (first) brackets :

अहिंसा ब्रह्मचर्यं च विशुद्धात्म प्रतिग्रहः ।
परेण न समर्थं च ब्राह्मणः स्याद्युधिष्ठिर ॥

110 Ad, Wil. पूर्णं । 111 A, Ad, C, I^1, I^2, Wil. ०त्सपरो ।

इदं च वैशम्पायनवाक्यम् :

पञ्चेन्द्रियार्णवं घोरं यदि शूद्रोऽपि तीर्णवान्।
तस्मै दानं प्रदातव्यमप्रमेयं युधिष्ठिर ॥४४॥
न जातिर्दृश्यते राजन् गुणाः कल्याणकारकाः।
जीवितं यस्य धर्मार्थे[112] परार्थे यस्य जीवितम्।
अहोरात्रं चरेत्क्षान्ति[113] तं देवा ब्राह्मणं विदुः ॥४५॥
परित्यज्य गृहावासं ये स्थिता मोक्षकाङ्क्षिणः।
कामेष्वसक्ताः कौन्तेय ब्राह्मणास्ते युधिष्ठिर ॥४६॥
अहिंसा निर्ममत्वं चा[114] मतकृत्यस्य वर्जनम्।
रागद्वेषनिवृत्तिश्च एतद् ब्राह्मणलक्षणम् ॥४७॥
क्षमा दया दमो दानं सत्यं शौचं स्मृतिर्घृणा।
विद्या विज्ञानमास्ति[115] वयमेतद् ब्राह्मणलक्षणम् ॥४८॥
गायत्रीमात्र[116] सारोऽपि वरं[117] विप्रः सुयन्त्रितः।
नायन्त्रितश्चतुर्वेदी[118] सर्वाशी सर्वविक्रयी ॥४९॥
एकरात्रोषितस्यापि या गतिर्ब्रह्मचारिणः।
न तत्क्रतुसहस्रेण प्राप्नुवन्ति युधिष्ठिर ॥५०॥
पारगं सर्ववेदानां सर्वतीर्थाभिषेचनम्।
मुक्त[119] श्चरति यो धर्मं तमेव ब्राह्मणं विदुः ॥५१॥
यदा न कुरुते पापं सर्वभूतेषु दारुणम्।
कायेन मनसा वाचा ब्रह्म सम्पद्यते तदा ॥ इति ॥५२॥

अस्माभिरुक्तं यदिदं द्विजानां मोहं निहन्तुं हतबुद्धिकानाम्।
गृह्णन्तु सन्तो यदि युक्तमेतन्मुञ्चन्त्वथायुक्तमिदं यदि स्यात् ॥५३॥

कृतिरियं सिद्धाचार्याश्वघोषपादानामिति ॥ शुभम्[120] ॥

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112 Ad, B, C, I^1, Wil. ०र्थं। 113 (Ch, क्षान्ति) A reads both कान्ति and क्षान्ति। Ad, B, C, I^1, I^2, Wil. कान्ति। 114 A, Ad, C, I^1, I^2, Wil. वा०। 115 Mss. ०धि०। 116 Ch, मन्त्र०। 117 Mss. चरन्। 118 Mss. नाधीत्य चतुरो वेदान्। 119 A, I^2, युक्त०। 120 Ad, & Wil. *omit it*; B, इति लघुटङ्कः; C, शुभम्। इति वज्रसूची समाप्तमिति। शुभम् ॥

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Oṃ. Salutations to Mañjunātha.

Having paid homages to Mañjughoṣa, the spiritual teacher of the world, in mind speech and with body, I Aśvaghoṣa compose Vajrasūcī, in conformity with the scriptures. **1.**

The Vedas *are the authorities*, *the Smṛtis are the authorities*, speeches conformable to duty and interest are the authorities. He who does not accept authorities as authorities, who will accept his speech as an authority ? **2.**

[A] In this world, according to you, the Brāhmaṇa is the best of all castes ; we like to put some questions here : Who is Brāhmana ? Is the soul Brāhmaṇa or the body Brāhmaṇa ? Is a man Brāhmaṇa by birth or by knowledge ? Is he Brāhmaṇa by following the traditional usages or by profession, or by mastery over the Vedas ?

[B] The soul is not Brāhmana. Why ? On the authorities of the Vedas. It is said in the Vedas .

[C] "Oṃ. Sūrya was an animal, Soma was an animal. Indra was an animal." Animals became gods. In the beginning and at the end the same persons are animals and gods (through transmigration). *Even the dog-eaters (Śvapākas) become gods* (or Brāhmaṇas).

[D] So, according to the authorities of the Vedas, we think the soul is not Brāhmana. *It is also confirmed on the authority of* the (*Mahā-*) *Bhārata.* It is said in the *Bhārata* :

"Those who were the seven hunters in Daśārṇa, deer in the Kālañjara hill, *cakravākas* in the Śara island, swans in the Mānasa lake, became Brāhmaṇas well-versed in the Vedas in Kurukṣetra." **3-4.**

[E] So, according to the authority of the *Bhārata*, as there is the possibility of seeing the soul, as hunter, deer, swan, and *cakravāka*, we think it (soul) is not Brāhmana. It may be established also on the authority of the *Mānavadharma*, where it is said :

"Having studied the four Vedas, with all their branches, in accordance with their true meaning, a Brāhmaṇa who accepts offerings from a Śūdra, becomes donkey." **5.**

"*He remains as donkey for twelve successive births.* Then he becomes a pig for sixty successive births. Afterwards, he changes into a dog for seventy successive births So said Manu." 6.

[F] Hence, according to the authority of the *Mānavadharma*, the soul is not Brāhmaṇa.

[G] A man is not Brāhmaṇa also by birth. Why ? On the authority of the Smṛtis. It is said in the Smṛtis :

"Acala was born of the she-elephant, Keśapiṅgala of the she-owl, Agastya from the *agasti* flower, Kauśika of Kuśa, Kapila of Kapilā, Gautama from the clump of reeds. Dronācārya was born in an earthen pot, Ṛṣi Tittiri of the Tittirī bird Renukā gave birth to Rāma, while a she-deer to the sage Ṛsya-śṛṅga A maid who was a Kaivarta by caste, gave birth to Vyāsa, a Śūdra woman to Kuśika, a Caṇḍāla woman to Viśvāmitra and Urvaśī to Vasistha. Their mothers were not Brāhmaṇas by castes, but they are regarded as Brāhmaṇas by popular customs." 7-10

[H] So, on the authority of the Smṛtis, we think, a man is not Brāhmaṇa by birth.

[I] Now, if you think, that the mother may be non-Brāhmana, but as the father is Brāhmaṇa, so the son is Brāhmaṇa If it is so, then the sons of maidservants conceived by Brāhmanas also become Brāhmanas But it is not agreeable to you.

[J] Again, if the son of a Brāhmaṇa is Brāhmana, then there is no Brāhmaṇa at all. Because the Brāhmanas of modern times, whether they are born from Brāhmana father is doubtful From the olden days, since the time of the first Brāhmaṇa in the lineage, it is noticed the wives of Brāhmaṇas had and still have illicit connection (with men of all castes, even) with the Śūdras Thus, a man is not Brāhmaṇa by birth. It is also confirmed on the authority of the *Mānavadharma*, where it is said :

"A Brāhmana degrades himself by selling meat, lac, and salt. The Brāhmaṇa who sells milk, becomes Śūdra in three days Brāhmaṇas who soar in the sky (by their psychic powers), fall down if they eat meat. So, seeing the fall of Brāhmanas, one should give up meat-eating" 11-12

[K] Thus, on the authority of the *Mānavadharma*, one is not Brāhmaṇa by birth. If a man is Brāhmaṇa by birth, it is not reasonable

that he *becomes* Śūdra *by degradation.* Does *a horse that has defects* become a pig? Hence a man is not Brāhmaṇa by birth.

[L] The *body is also not* Brāhmaṇa. Why? *If the body* is Brāhmaṇa then (in the funeral ceremony, the god of) fire, the purifier, commits (the crime of) Brahminicide (*Brahmahatyā* or the murder of a Brahmin). So do the relations by burning the (dead) body (of the deceased Brāhmana).

Again, if the body were Brāhmaṇa, then the Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras who are born from the body of the Brahman, (or all who are born from Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra women conceived by Brāhmanas) also would have become Brāhmaṇas. But it is not seen so.

Again (if the body were Brāhmaṇa), the merits resulted from *acts, such as, sacrifices, urging others to sacrifices, study, teaching,* charity, acceptance of offerings (all these are known as profession of a Brāhmaṇa) would also have been destroyed, with the destruction of the body of Brāhmaṇa. But it is not agreeable.

Hence we think the body is not Brāhmaṇa.

[M] (A man possessing) Knowledge too is not Brāhmana Why? Because of the diversity of knowledge. In that case, whoever have knowledge among the Śūdras, would all become Brāhmanas. It is also seen, in some places, even the Śūdras are versed in the meaning *of all the scriptures, all branches of knowledge, such as, the Vedas,* Vyākaraṇas, Mīmāṃsā, Sāṅkhya, Vaiśesika, the science of the Jains (*Nagna*), the science of the Ājīvaka sect (founded by Gosāla, Makkhali-putta), etc, but they do not become Brāhmanas.

Hence, we think, (one possessing) knowledge too is not Brāhmana.

[N] A man is not Brāhmana, also by following the traditional usages Why? In that case, the Śūdras *who follow that, would have* become Brāhmanas. *It is also seen,* Śūdras, such as, the Naṭas, Bhaṭas, Kaivartas, Bhaṇḍas and others are following the various traditional usages, more vehemently; but they do not become Brāhmanas.

Hence a man is not Brāhmaṇa, by following the traditional usages.

[O] A man is not Brāhmana also by profession Why? Because it is seen, the Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas, and the Śūdras, even by following

profession in connection with the various acts, such as, sacrifice, urging others to sacrifice, learning, teaching, charity and acceptance of offerings (i. e, the profession of a Brāhmaṇa) are not considered Brāhmaṇas by you.

Hence, a man is not Brāhmaṇa by profession.

[P] *A man is not Brāhmaṇa also by mastery over the Vedas.* Why ? There was a demon called Rāvaṇa who *studied the four Vedas*, viz., Ṛg°, Yajur°, Sāma° and Atharva°. There was indeed *the study of* the Vedas, in every house of demons. But they were not Brāhmaṇas.

So we think, a man is not Brāhmaṇa also by mastery over the Vedas.

[Q] How then is the Brahmanhood brought about ? It is said :

"Neither by knowledge of the scriptures, nor by sanctifying ceremonies, nor by birth, nor by caste, nor by (the mastery over) the Vedas, nor by profession is Brahmanhood brought about." 13

[R] "Abstinence from all sins is Brahmanhood, which is white (i. e. pure) like the *Kunda* flower and the Moon."

[S] It is said "Brahmanhood is attained also by following and performing vows, austerity, precept, abstinence from food, charity, control of both outward and inward senses, and concentration of mind "

It is also said in the Vedas

"He who is free from selfishness, free from the sentiment of egotism, free from attachment, he who is without any possession, free from lust and hatred, is recognised as Brāhmaṇa by the gods." 14

Thus it is said in all the scriptures :

"Truth is Brahmanhood, austerity is Brahmanhood, control over the senses is Brahmanhood, compassion towards all sentient beings is Brahmanhood These are the characteristics of a Brāhmaṇa." 15

"Want of truth, want of austerity, want of control over the senses and absence of compassion towards all sentient beings, are the characteristics of a Caṇḍāla." 16.

"Those who do not enjoy sexual pleasure, while they are born as gods, or as men, or even when they are born as animals, are *Vipras* or Brāhmaṇas." **17.**

It is also said by Śukra : "It is not birth but the good qualities that are the source of good. Even if a Caṇḍāla possess them, he is recognised as Brāhmaṇa by the gods." **18.**

[T] "Therefore, it is neither birth, nor soul, nor body, nor knowledge, nor traditional usages, nor profession, nor the Vedas that make a Brāhmaṇa."

[U] You said also the following : "In this world, the Śūdras are not entitled to renunciation. Their only duty is to serve the Brāhmaṇas. Śūdra is the lowest as his name is cited last of all the four castes (in the scriptures, in the following compound word . *Brahma-ksatra-viṭ-śūdrāḥ*)."

[V] If so, then even Indra (the king of gods) becomes low, according to the following aphorism, *viz.*, "of the dog, youth and Indra, except in the *Taddhita*" (cf. Pāṇini, 6-4-133). Indra is indeed then worse than men (youth) and dogs. But it is not seen so. Does one become blamable only because he (or his name) is cited last ? [In language, such compound words are made without any such intention] For example . *Umāmaheśvarau Dantauṣṭham i. e.*, Umā and Maheśvara, teeth and lips. [It does not mean that lips are inferior to the teeth or Maheśvara to Umā.] It does not mean that teeth came out before lips or Umā before Maheśvara. So is the compound : *Brahma-ksatra-viṭ-śūdrāḥ* (Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra). These are simply compound words and nothing else.

Hence, the proposition which you hold, *viz.*, "their only duty is to serve the Brāhmaṇas," is not right.

[W] Moreover, the application of the term Brāhmaṇa is not fixed as it is said in the *Mānavadharma* :

"The Brāhmaṇa who sleeps with a Śūdra woman, kisses her, begets a child in her, becomes degraded. There is no escape for him (*i. e.*, he cannot be purified)." **19.**

"He who eats food cooked by a Śūdra woman, continuously for a month, becomes Śūdra while living, and a dog when dead." **20,**

"A Brāhmaṇa who is surrounded by Śūdra women, who has a Śūdra woman as his housewife, loses his right to perform religious rites in honour of the gods and the ancestors. He gets into the hell called *Raurava*." 21.

[X] Hence, on the authority of this quotation, the *application* of the term Brāhmaṇa is not fixed.

[Y] There is something else, that is, even a Śūdra becomes Brāhmaṇa. What is the reason ? Because it is said here in the *Mānava-dharma* :

"The great sage named Kaṭha, who was born from the womb of Araṇī, became Brāhmaṇa by means of austerity. Therefore, the birth is not the cause (of Brahmanhood) The great sage named Vyāsa, who was born from the womb of a Kaivarta woman, became Brāhmaṇa by means of austerity. Therefore, birth is not the cause (of Brahmanhood). The great sage named Vasiṣṭha who was born from the womb of Urvaśī, became Brāhmana by means of austerity. Therefore, birth is not the cause (of Brahmanhood). The great sage Rsyaśṛṅga who was born from the womb of a deer became Brāhmaṇa by means of austerity. Therefore, birth is not the cause (of Brahmanhood). The great sage Viśvāmitra who was born from the womb of a Caṇḍāla woman, became Brāhmana by means of austerity. Therefore, birth is not the cause (of Brahmanhood). The great sage Nārada who was born from the womb of Tānduli (a maidservant who used to husk rice ?) became Brāhmaṇa by means of austerity. Therefore, birth is not the cause (of Brahmanhood) " 22-27.

"The matchless self-subdued one who governed his senses by conquering the five, became Brāhmaṇa by means of austerity, by continence and chastity." 28.

"Those persons (*viz* , Kaṭha and others) are not sons of Brāhmaṇa mothers, but they are Brāhmanas to the people. Brahmanhood is full of morality and purity. So, birth is not the cause (of Brahmanhood)." 29.

"It is not birth or lineage but the moral conduct that is considered essential. What is the use of birth or lineage, if a man is devoid of moral conduct ? Many wise persons born in low families, have gone to heaven, having attained the moral conduct." 30.

[Z] Who are those Brāhmaṇa sages, *viz.*, Katha, Vyāsa, Vasistha, Ṛṣyaśṛṅga, Viśvāmitra etc.? They are all born in low castes, but they are Brāhmaṇas to the people. Hence, on the authority of this quotation, the application of the term Brāhmaṇa is not fixed. A man becomes Brāhmaṇa even if he is born in a Śūdra-family.

[AA] You hold another view, that is :

"Brāhmaṇa is born from the mouth, Kṣatriya from the arms, Vaiśya from the thighs, while the Śūdra is from the feet (of the Brahman)." 31.

[BB] To this, we observe : There are many kinds of Brāhmanas. It is not known, where are those Brāhmanas who are born from the mouth! Here are Brāhmanas even in the families of Kaivarta, Rajaka, and Caṇḍāla. The sanctifying ceremonies are done for them too, such as, by "forming crest", by giving them the "Brahmanical girdle", made of *muñja*-grass, and the "staff" (given at investiture with the sacred thread) etc. They are also called Brāhmanas. So is the case with the Kṣatriyas and others (= Vaiśyas) too.

Hence, the caste is only one and not four.

[CC] Again, how there is the possibility of four castes among those who are born from the same person (*i. e.*, the Brahman). Here is a man called Devadatta who gives birth to four sons from one wife. These sons do not belong to different castes, so that you may call one, a Brāhmaṇa, the other a Ksatriya, another a Vaiśya, and the rest a Śūdra. Why? Because they are born from the same father. Then, how can there be four castes among Brāhmana etc.

[DD] In this world, we find distinction in the footprints of cattle, elephant, horse, deer, lion, tiger etc., such as we easily recognize, this is the footprint of a cow, that is of elephant, this is of horse, that is of deer, this is of lion, that is of tiger and so on. But it is not so, in the case of Brāhmana etc. We cannot define as, this is the footprint of a Brāhmaṇa, that is of a Kṣatriya, this is of a Vaiśya and that is of a Śūdra.

So, as there is want of distinction also in the footprints, we see only one caste and not four.

[EE] In this world, we find distinction in the male and female organs, in colour, complexion, and form, in stools and in urine, in smell and in voice, of cattle, buffalo, horse, elephant, donkey, monkey, goat, sheep etc. But it is not so, in the case of Brāhmaṇa etc. Here too, as there is want of distinction, the caste is only one.

[FF] Again, we find distinction in form, in colour, in furs and in beaks, of the swan, pigeon, parrot, cuckoo, peacock etc. ; *there is no such distinction found among Brāhmaṇa etc As there is want of distinction here too, the caste is only one.*

[GG] As we find distinction in different kinds of trees, *viz.*, Vaṭa, Bakula, Palāśa, Aśoka, Tamāla, Nāgakesara, Śirīsa, Campaka etc., in their stem, leaves, flowers, fruits, barks, wood, seeds, juice and smell , we do not find so in the case of Brāhmaṇa etc. ; neither in their limbs, nor in skin, blood, flesh, bones, semen, stools, nor in form and complexion, nor in their issues. As there is want of distinction here too, the caste is only one.

[HH] Again, Oh Brāhmaṇa, as there is similarity in joy and sorrow, in life, in intellect, in functions, in conduct or in behaviour, in birth and death, in sexual enjoyments and in fear, there is indeed no distinction in Brāhmana and others

[II] This too, you ought to know that there is no distinction of castes among the fruits produced from the same tree. For example, take the fruits of the fig and jack trees. Among the fruits of these two trees, some grow from the stem, or trunk, others from the branches, and some others just above the root. They have no such distinction as, this is the Brāhmana fruit, that is the Ksatriya fruit, this is the *Vaiśya fruit and that is the Śūdra fruit* ; as they are produced from the same tree. There is no such distinction among human beings too, as they are also born from the same person (*i e.*, the Brahman).

[JJ] There is another defect in your proposition. If the Brāhmaṇa is born from the mouth, where is the Brāhmana woman born from ? Certainly from the mouth. Alas ! Then *she is your* sister ! So, you do not regard the convention of licit and illicit intercourse ! But that is extremely repugnant to the people of this world. So Brahmanhood is uncertain

[KK] This arrangement of four classes is made according to the difference in functions. So it was observed by Vaiśampāyana when he was asked by Yudhiṣthira : "The system of four classes is founded on distinction or division of labour."

"The well-known son of *Pāṇḍu named Yudhiṣthira comes to* Vaiśampāyana, and asks *him with folded hands* : 32.

"Who are those that are called Brāhmanas or what are the characteristics of a Brāhmana, I like to know this, let the venerable one explain it." 33

Vaiśampāyana said : "He who is adorned with merits, such as, tolerance or endurance etc., he who has abandoned weapons, and has given up meat-eating, he who does not kill any creature, possesses the first characteristic of a Brāhmaṇa." 34

"When he does not take anything that belongs to others, unless it is given to him, whether that is in one's house or lying on the way, possesses the second characteristic of a Brāhmaṇa." 35.

"He who having abandoned the cruelty in his nature, becomes free from all selfishness, free from all worldly connexions, without any possession moves about always free, possesses the third characteristic of a Brāhmana." 36.

"He who abandons sexual pleasures while he is born as god, as human being or even as animal, possesses the fourth characteristic of a Brāhmana." 37.

"*Truth is purity, kindness is purity, control over the senses is purity, compassion towards all sentient beings is purity, austerity is* purity. This is the fifth characteristic (of a Brāhmana)." 38.

"He who possesses these five characteristics, Oh, Yudhiṣthira, him I call a Brāhmana ; the rest are Śūdras." 39.

"A man is not Brāhmaṇa, by birth or by lineage, or by ceremonies. Even if a Caṇḍāla possess good conduct, he is Brāhmaṇa." 40.

Here is something more that is said by Vaiśampāyana :

"Oh, Yudhiṣṭhira! In ancient times, all the world was of one caste. The system of four classes was established according to the distinction of profession and functions." 41.

"All are mortals and born from the same place (i. e., produced from the womb). All have (within them, dirty things, such as,) stools and urine. All have got the same senses and same objects of senses. So, it is only by good conduct and merit that men become Brāhmaṇas." 42.

"Even if a Śūdra possess good conduct and merit, he becomes Brāhmana and if a Brāhmana is without good actions, he is inferior to a Śūdra." 43.

These are also the words of Vaiśampāyana :

"Oh, Yudhisthira! If the 'dreadful ocean of five senses' is crossed even by a Śūdra, he is to be given offerings immeasurable." 44.

"The caste is not seen It is the good qualities that are the source of good. It is he whose life is for the Law, whose life is for others, who practises tolerance day and night, is recognized as Brāhmana by the gods." 45.

"Oh, the son of Kuntī! Those who having abandoned their hearths and being detached from passions, are longing for Liberation, are known as Brāhmanas." 46.

"Non-violence, selflessness, abstinence from actions that are not approved (by the scriptures), and detachment from lust and hatred, are the characteristics of a Brāhmana." 47.

"Tolerance, compassion, control over the senses, charity, truth, purity, remembrance (*Smṛti*), pity, learning, wisdom and belief in the other world are the characteristics of a Brāhmana." 48.

"Better is the well-controlled Brāhmana who possesses nothing else but the *Gāyatrī*, than he who possesses (the learning of) the four Vedas, but is without self-control, eating everything and selling everything." 49.

"The state which a Brahmacārin attains, if he practises abstinence, from the objects of the senses, even for a night, cannot be obtained by others with thousand of sacrifices (of animals)." 50.

"He who is well-versed in all the Vedas, he who purifies others (by his conduct) as though by offering them a religious bath in all the Sacred places, he who performs his duty, free from attachment, is *recognized as Brāhmaṇa*." 51.

"When he does not commit dreadful crimes to any sentient beings, in mind, speech, and with body, attains to the Brahman." 52.

In order to destroy the delusion of the Brāhmaṇas who have lost all their senses, what we have said here, let the honest men accept, if it is reasonable, otherwise let them reject it. 53.

This is composed by the venerable Ācārya Aśvaghoṣa who has attained Perfection.

NOTES AND PARALLEL PASSAGES

We record here the interesting letter of B. H. Hodgson, written to the Secretary, Asiatic Society :

Nepal Residency,
July 11th, 1829.

Sir,

A few days since my learned old *Bauddha* friend brought me a little tract in Sanscrit, with such an evident air of pride and pleasure, that I immediately asked him what it contained. "Oh, my friend !" was his reply, "I have long been trying to procure for you this work, in the assurance that you must highly approve the wit and wisdom contained in it ; and, after many applications to the owner, I have at length obtained the loan of it for three or four days. But I cannot let you have it, nor even a copy of it, such being the conditions on which I procured you a sight of it." These words of my old friend stimulated my curiosity, and with a few fair words I engaged the old gentle man to lend me and my *pandit* his aid in making a translation of it ; a task which we accomplished within the limited period of my possession of the original, although my *pandit* (a Brahman of Benares) soon declined cooperation with us, full of indignation at the author and his work ! Notwithstanding, however, the loss of the *pandit's* aid, I think I may venture to say that the translation gives a fair representation of the *matter* of the original, and is not altogether without some traces of its *manner*.

It consists of a shrewd and argumentative attack, by a *Bauddha*, upon the Brahmanical doctrine of caste : and what adds to its pungency is, that throughout, the truth of the Brahmanical writings is assumed, and that the author's proofs of the erroneousness of the doctrine of *caste* are all drawn from those writings. He possesses himself of the enemy's battery, and turns their own guns against them. To an English reader this circumstance gives a puerile character to a large portion of the Treatise, owing to the enormous absurdity of the

data from which the author argues. His inferences, however, are almost always shrewdly drawn, and we must remember that not he but his antagonists must be answerable for the character of the data. To judge by the effect produced upon my Brahman *pandit*—a wise man in his generation, and accustomed for the last four years to the examination of *Bauddha* literature—by this little Treatise, it would seem that there is no method of assailing Brahmanism comparable to that of "judging it out of its own mouth :"...

We all know that the Brahmans scorn to consider the Sudras as of the same nature with themselves, in this respect resembling the bigoted Christians of the dark ages, who deemed in like manner of the Jews. The manner in which our author treats this part of his subject is, in my judgement, admirable, and altogether worthy of a *European mind* (italics are ours). Indeed it bears the closest resemblance to the style of argument used by Shakspeare, in covertly *assailing the analogous European prejudice already adverted to.* I need not point more particularly to the glorious passage in the Merchant of Venice : "Hath not a Jew eyes, hands, organs, dimensions, senses, passions ; fed with the same food, hurt by the same diseases ?" etc. etc.

The *Bauddha* Treatise commences in the sober manner of a title page of a book ; but immediately after the author has announced himself with due pomp, he rushes "*in medias res*", and to the end of his work maintains the animated style of *viva voce* disputation. Who Ashu Ghosha, the author, was, *when* he flourished and *where*, I cannot ascertain. All that is known of him in Nepal is, that he was a *Maha pandit*, or great sage, and wrote, besides the little treatise now translated, two larger *Bauddha* works of high repute, the names of which are mentioned in a note.* (Communicated by B. H. Hodgson. Read Jan. I, 1831)

Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. III. London, 1835 ; reprinted in the *Wujra Soochi*, ed. Wilkinson, 1839.

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* The *Buddha Charitra Kārya*, and the *Nandi-Mukhasughosha Avadan*, and other works.

2 प्रमाणमप्रमाणं वै यः कुर्यादबुधो जनः ।
न स प्रमाणतामर्हो विवादजननो हि सः ॥

Maha°, Anu°, 162. 25.

[C] *Vajasaneyi-Samhita*, XXIII. 17; *Taittirīya-Samhita*, V. 7. 26; *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, XIII. 2. 7. 13-15; *Kāṭhaka, Aśvamedha*, V. 5, 4.

3-4 Vide *Harivaṁśa*, XXIV. 20-21, तेऽभिजाताः° ।

[E] जराजन्मान्तरक्लेशदुष्टग्राहकुलाकुलम् ।
नरतिर्यगसच्छूद्रयोनिदुःखोर्मिसङ्कटम् ॥
दौःस्थित्यरोगशोकार्तिजलावर्तसमन्वितम् ।
श्वानशूकरचाण्डालकृमिकूर्मादिकायकम् ॥
संसारसागरं घोरं मग्नः खलु परिप्लवन् ।
भूरिपापभराक्रान्तः स जीवो ब्राह्मणः कथम् ॥

ब्रह्म उवाच ॥ सप्तव्याधकथा विप्रा मनुना परिकीर्तिता ।
तां निशम्य यदुश्रेष्ठ नित्यं जातिपदं त्यजेत् ॥**
तस्मान्न जीवे ब्राह्मण्यं पश्यामो हि कथञ्चन ॥

Bhavisya°, Book I. 40. 23-29.

5-6 Not in *Manu°*; but for similar ideas see *Manu°*, X. 109-10.

अधीत्य चतुरो वेदान् द्विजो मोहसमन्वितः ।
पतितात्प्रतिगृह्याथ खरयोनौ प्रजायते ॥

Maha°, Anu°, 111. 46-47.

7-10 Acala was a *Devarṣi*. Vide *Viṣṇupurāṇa*.

°कृष्णद्वैपायनस्तदा ।
जनयामास यं काली शक्त्रेः पुत्रात् पराशरात् ॥ *Maha°, Ādi*, 60. 2.
जातो व्यासस्तु कैवर्त्याः श्वपाक्याश्च पराशरः ।
शुक्याः शुकः कणादाख्यस्तथोलूक्याः सुतोऽभवत् ॥

मृगीजोऽप्यर्ष्यशृङ्गोऽपि वसिष्ठो गणिकात्मजः ।

(और्वशेय, *Buddhacarita*, IX. 9)

मन्दपालो मुनिश्रेष्ठो नाविकापत्यमुच्यते ॥

माण्डव्यो मुनिराजस्तु मण्डूकीगर्भसम्भवः ।

बहवोऽन्येऽपि विप्रत्वं प्राप्ता ये पूर्वद् द्विजाः ॥

Bhavisya°, Book 1, 42. 22-24.

Cf. *Buddhacarita* of Aśvaghoṣa, IV. 76 ; IX. 9.

Nowhere we could find that Agastya was born from Agasti flower. He was born in an earthen pot (*kumbha*) *Bṛhaddevatā*, V. 149-52.

कुशसम्भव :

(i. e.) Descendant of king Kuśa. Vide *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, IV. 7. 3-6 ; *Harivaṁśa*, XXVII. 12-17 ; *Bhāgavata*°, IX. 15. 4.

तथा च कौशिकस्तात तपोनित्यो जितेन्द्रियः ।

तपसा वै सुतप्तेन ब्राह्मणत्वमवाप्तवान् ॥ *Mahā*°, *Śalya*, 40. 11.

Gautama i. e., Kṛpācārya. Vide *Mahā*°, *Ādi*, 130. 12-13 ; 137. 15; *Viṣṇu*°, IV. 19 16-18 ; *Harivaṁśa*, XXXII. 72-74 Kapila was a son of a Kṣatriya. Vide *Harivaṁśa*, XXXII. 15-20 ; Kapila, son of a Kṣatriya who afterwards became Brāhmana. Vide *Viṣṇu*°, IV. 19. 10.

आचार्यः कलशाज्जातो द्रोणः शस्त्रभृतां वरः । *Mahā*°, *Ādi*, 137. 15 ; *Śiva*°, *Dharmasaṁhitā*, 12. 76 Renukā was Kṣatriyā by caste, see, *Mahā*°, *Vana*, 116 2 ; *Harivaṁśa*, XXVII. 38-39 ; *Viṣṇu*°, IV. 7. 16 ; *Vāyu*°, II. 29. 85-87 ; *Bhāgavata*°, IX. 15. 12.

शूद्रीगर्भसमुत्पन्नः कुशिकश्च महामुनिः ।

Kuśika was a Ṛṣi who had equal status with Vasiṣṭha, Bharadvāja and Gautama. *Bṛhaddevatā*, IV. 98.

ब्राह्मण्यं लब्धवान् यत्र विश्वामित्रस्तथा मुनिः ॥

Mahā°, *Ādi*, 137. 14 ; 175. 47 ; *Śalya*, 39. 37 ; *Anuśāsana*, 4. 48 ; 18 17 ; *Manu*°, VII. 42 ; *Rāmāyana*, Book I, 65 26-28 ; *Vāyu*°, II. 29. 111 ; *Matsya*°, 198. 2. Cf. *Buddha*°, I. 49 ; *Bhāgavata*°, IX. 16. 28.

वैश्ययोन्यां समुत्पन्नाः शूद्रयोन्यां तथैव च ।
ब्रह्मर्षय इति प्रोक्ताः पुराणा द्विजसत्तमाः ॥
कथमेतन्महाराज तत्त्वं शंसितुमर्हसि ।

भीष्म उवाच । कपिञ्जलादो ब्रह्मर्षिश्चण्डाल्यामुदपद्यत ॥

(Cf. *Buddha*°, IV. 77.)

वैश्यश्चित्रमुखः कन्यां वसिष्ठतनयस्य वै ।
शुभां प्रादात्ततो जातो ब्रह्मवित्तु पराशरः ॥
तथैव दाशकन्यायां सत्यवत्यां महानृषिः ।
पराशरात्प्रसूतश्च व्यासो योगमयो मुनिः ॥

(Cf. *Buddha*°, IV. 76.)

ऋष्यशृङ्गः समुत्पन्नो ब्रह्मचारी महायशाः ।
विभाण्डकस्य मृग्यां च तपोयोगात्मको मुनिः ॥
शार्ङ्ग्यां च मन्दपालस्य चत्वारो ब्रह्मवादिनः ।
जाता ब्रह्मर्षयः पुण्या यैः स्तुतो हव्यवाहनः ॥
महर्षेः कालवृक्षस्य शकुन्त्यामेव जज्ञिवान् ।
हिरण्यहस्तो भगवान् महर्षिः काञ्चनप्रभः ॥
शाण्डिल्यश्चाभितो जातः काश्यपस्यात्मजः प्रभुः ।
शारद्वतः शरस्तम्बात्कृपश्च कृपया सह ॥

(Cf. *Bhagavata*°, IX. 22. 36.)

व्याघ्रयोन्यां ततो जाता वसिष्ठस्य महात्मनः ।
एकोनविंशतिः पुत्राः ख्याता व्याघ्रपदादयः ॥

* * *

एते चान्ये च विख्याताः पृथिव्यां गोत्रतां गताः ।
* * नाऽसाध्यं तपसा तेषां विद्यया त्मगुणैः परैः ॥

Maha°, *Anu*°, 21 (Tānjore Mss.). To be found in the *edition* of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

पराशर उवाच ॥ पितामहश्च मे पूर्वमृश्यशृङ्गश्च काश्यपः ।
वेदस्ताण्ड्यः कृपश्चैव काक्षीवत्कमठादयः ॥
यवक्रीतश्च नृपते द्रोणश्च वदतां वरः ।
आयुर्मतङ्गो दत्तश्च द्रुमदो मात्स्य एव च ॥
एते स्वां प्रकृतिं प्राप्ता वैदेह तपसोऽऽश्रयात् ।
प्रतिष्ठिता वेदविदो दमेन तपसैव हि ॥

Maha°, *Śanti*, 296. 14-16.

References to Kapila, Vyāsa, Kuśika, Vasiṣṭha, or Aurvaśeya, Ṛṣyaśṛṅga, Viśvāmitra, Agastya and Rāma are found also in other works (such as *Buddhacarita*) of Aśvaghoṣa. Cf. *Buddha°*, XII. 21; I. 47, IV. 16 ; I. 49 ; I. 47, 57, IV. 77, IX. 9, 70 ; IV. 19 ; I. 49, IV. 20 ; IV. 73, IX. 26 ; IX. 25, 69, 77.

In this text, Viśvāmitra is said to be born from the womb of a Caṇḍāla woman ! According to the *Mahābhārata* and other Sanskrit works, he was a Kṣatriya by birth who became Brāhmaṇa afterwards by virtue of his *Tapas* (austerity) We could not find anywhere that he was born of a Caṇḍāla woman except in the fragment of a Tāntrik text found in Kucha (Central Asia), where he is described as a Caṇḍāla king : नमो विश्वामित्रमातङ्गराजस्य । Vide *Indian Historical Quarterly*, June, 1936, Vol. XII. No. 2, pp 201, 212.

[J] किं ब्राह्मणस्य पितरं किमु पृच्छसि मातरम् ।
श्रुतं चेदस्मिन् वेद्यं स पिता स पितामहः ॥

Kathaka, XXX. 1.

जातिरत्र महासर्प मनुष्यत्वे महामते ।
सङ्करात्सर्ववर्णानां दुष्परीक्ष्येति मे मतिः ।
सर्वे सर्वास्वपत्यानि जनयन्ति सदा नराः ॥

Maha°, *Vana*, 180. 31-32.

शुद्धिर्वंशद्वयीशुद्धौ पित्रोः पित्रोर्यदेकशः ।
तदानन्तकुलादोषाददोषा जातिरस्ति का ॥

Naiṣadhacarita, XVII. 40

अनादाविह संसारे दुर्वारे मकरध्वजे ।
कुले च कामिनीमूले का जातिपरिकल्पना ॥

Quoted in the commentary of the above *śloka*.

Vide *Mahābhārata, Matangopākhyāna, Anu°*, 27.

According to the Smṛtis, a son born of a Brāhmaṇa woman conceived by a Śūdra is called Caṇḍāla (or untouchable). From this too, it may be inferred that the Brāhmaṇa women had illicit connections with the Śūdras. It is quite natural that a good many of the children born from such secret connections were undetected by the Law-makers of the Society. The result was that they, as well as their children, were also regarded as "Pure" Brāhmaṇas who too might have contributed to the framing of the much cursed 'Law of Untouchability.'

11. *Manu°*, X. 92, *Yājñavalkya°*, III, 40, *Vasiṣṭha°*, II, *Atri°*, *śloka*, 21.

[L] पृथिव्युदकवाय्वग्निपरिणामाविशेषतः ।
देहतः सर्वभूतानां ब्राह्मणत्वप्रसङ्गतः ॥
°तस्मान्न देहे ब्राह्मण्यं नापि देहात्मकं भवेत् ॥
वर्णापसदचाण्डालश्वादादीनां प्रसज्यते ।
यदि देहस्य विप्रत्वं भवद्भिरवगम्यते ॥

Bhaviṣya°, Book 1, 41. 53-56.

[M] The religion of the Ājīvakas (or Ājīvikas) is older than Jainism and Buddhism. It began to develop in the 7th or 8th century B. C., somewhere near the Gangetic valley. Makkhaliputta (Sanskrit : Maskari-putra) Gosāla elevated this religion into a philosophy of life. He was the central figure, the last Tīrthankara of the Ājīvakas as Mahāvīra of the Jains. They two practised austerity together for sometime. It is said that Gosāla attained to Jinahood first and he had great influence in the development of Mahāvīra's doctrine.

Gosāla introduced the philosophy of natural transformation (*pariṇāmavāda*) which he formulated from the generalisation of the periodical reanimations of plant life.

The basic idea of this philosophy implies 'a process of natural and spiritual evolution, through ceaseless round of births and deaths (*saṁsāraśuddhi*).'

This philosophy of *saṁsāraśuddhi* inspires us with a great message of hope that even the puniest thing of the creation, that even a dewdrop is destined to attain, in course of natural evolution, the highest state of perfection in humanity.

The Ājīvaka sect consisted of monks and householders, both male and female. It spread all over India and existed among rival sects up to the fourteenth century A. D.

Some inscriptions (Hultzsch's *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I, pp. 88, 89, 92, 108) *dated the 13th century A. D. are found in Madras* which record that a kind of poll-tax was imposed on the Ājīvakas and that probably checked the further progress of this religious sect.

The Ājīvakas finally lost their identity and merged into the Digambara Jain, Śivaite and others Cf. B. Barua, *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Calcutta University, Vol. II.

· वैशेषिकनग्नाजीवकादि :

The reading here must be *nagna*. The association of this word with Ājīvaka confirms our view.

It may be mentioned here that Nagga (Nagna) *i. e.* Kṣapaṇaka is *mentioned as a religious sect by the* Jain *teacher* Kālakācārya.

Some chapters of the *Visnupurāṇa* confuse Nagna or Kṣapaṇaka with Buddha. The passage which is very amusing is quoted here :

को नग्नः किंसमाचारो नग्नसंज्ञां नरो लभेत् ।
नग्नस्वरूपमिच्छामि यथावद् गदितुं त्वया ॥४॥

पराशर उवाच । ऋग्यजुःसामसंज्ञेयं त्रयी वर्णावृतिर्द्विज ।
एतामुज्झति यो मोहात् स नग्नः पातकी स्मृतः ॥५॥
त्रयी समस्तवर्णानां द्विज संवरणं यतः ।
नग्नो भवत्युज्झितायामतस्तस्यामसंशयम् ॥६॥
इत्युक्तो भगवांस्तेभ्यो(देवेभ्यो)मायामोहं शरीरतः ।
समुत्पाद्य ददौ विष्णुः प्राह चेदं सुरोत्तमान् ॥४१॥

श्रीभगवानुवाच । मायामोहोऽयमखिलान् दैत्यांस्तान् मोहयिष्यति ।
ततो वध्या भविष्यन्ति वेदमार्गबहिष्कृताः ॥४२॥
तपस्यभिरतान् सोऽथ मायामोहो महासुरान् ।
मैत्रेय ददृशे गत्वा नर्मदातीरसंश्रयान् ॥१॥
ततो दिगम्बरो मुण्डो बर्हिपत्रधरो द्विज ।
मायामोहोऽसुरान् श्लक्ष्णमिदं वचनमब्रवीत् ॥२॥

मायामोह उवाच । कुरुध्वं मम वाक्यानि यदि मुक्तिमभीप्सथ ।
अर्हध्वं धर्ममेतच्च मुक्तिद्वारमसंवृतम् ॥५॥
धर्मो विमुक्तेरर्होऽयं नैतस्मादपरः परः ।
अत्रैवावस्थिताः स्वर्गं विमुक्तिं वा गमिष्यथ ।
अर्हध्वं धर्ममेतं च सर्वे यूयं महाबलाः ॥६॥
पराशर उवाच । एवं प्रकारैर्बहुभिर्युक्तिदर्शनवर्जितैः ।
मायामोहेन दैत्यास्ते वेदमार्गादपाकृताः ॥७॥
तेन दर्शमना दैत्याः स्वधर्मास्त्याजिता द्विज ॥१०॥
अर्हथेमं महाधर्मं मायामोहेन ते यतः ।
प्रोक्तास्तमाश्रिता धर्ममार्हतास्तेन तेऽभवन् ॥११॥

मायामोह उवाच । स्वर्गार्थं यदि वाञ्छा वो निर्वाणार्थमथासुराः ।
तदलं पशुघातादिदुष्टधर्मैर्निबोधत ॥१५॥
विज्ञानमयमेवैतदशेषमवगच्छथ ।
बुध्यध्वं मे वचः सम्यग् बुधैरेवमुदीरितम् ॥१६॥
एवं बुध्यत बुध्यध्वं बुध्यतैवमितीरयन् ।
मायामोहः स दैतेयान् धर्ममत्याजयन्निजम् ॥१८॥

Viṣṇupurāṇa, Book 3, Ch. XVII-XVIII.

शूद्रा देशान्तरं गत्वा ब्राह्मण्यं क्षत्रियं श्रिताः ।
व्यापाराकारभाषाद्यैर्विप्रतुल्याः प्रकल्पिताः ॥
वेदानधीत्य वेदौ वा वेदं वाऽपि यथाक्रमम् ।
प्रोद्वहन्ति शुभां कन्यां शुद्धब्राह्मणजां नराः ॥
अथ वाधीत्य वेदांस्तु उद्वहन्ति द्विजस्त्रियः ।
गौडपूर्वां कृत्वामीयुर्जातिं वा दाक्षिणात्यजाम् ॥
अपरिज्ञातशूद्रत्वाद् ब्राह्मण्यं यान्ति कामनः ।
तस्माच्च ज्ञायते भेदो वेदाध्यायक्रियाकृतः ॥

Bhavisya°, Book 1. 41. 1-6.

13 न योनिर्नापि संस्कारो न श्रुतं नापि सन्ततिः ।
कारणानि द्विजत्वस्य वृत्तमेव तु कारणम् ॥

Maha°, *Anu*°, 143. 50.

पुत्रो गृत्समदस्यापि शुनको यस्य शौनकाः ।
ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रियाश्चैव वैश्याः शूद्रास्तथैव च ॥

Harivamśa, XXIX. 8 ; *Visnu*°, IV. 8. 1 ; *Vayu*°, II. 30. 4 ; *Agni*°, Ch 278. 10-11

वत्सस्य वत्सभूमिस्तु भार्गभूमिस्तु भार्गवात् ।
एते ह्यङ्गिरसः पुत्रा जाता वंशेऽथ भार्गवे ।
ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रिया वैश्याः शूद्राश्च भरतर्षभ ॥

Harivamśa, XXIX. 82-83 ; XXXII. 40-41 ; *Visnu*°, IV. 8. 9.

मनोः......र्नाभागनेदिष्टकरूषपृषध्राख्याः पुत्रा बभूवुः ।
पृषध्रस्तु गुरुगोवधाच्छूद्रत्वमगमत् । करूषात्कारूषा महाबलाः
क्षत्रिया बभूवुः ।......नेदिष्टपुत्रस्तु वैश्यतामगमत् ।

Visnu°, IV. 1. 5-15 ; *Harivamśa*, XI. 9-11 ; *Agni*°, 273. 17-18 ; *Markandeya*°, Ch. 112-113.

गर्गाच्छिनिस्ततो गार्ग्याः शैन्याः । क्षत्रोपेता द्विजातयो बभूवुः ।

Visnu°, IV. 19. 9 ; *Bhagavata*°, IX 21. 19. *Matsya*°, Ch. 49. 41.

मुद्गलाच्च मौद्गल्याः क्षत्रोपेता द्विजातयो बभूवुः ॥

Harivaṁśa, XXXII 67-68 ; *Viṣṇu*°, IV. 19. 16 ; *Bhāgavata*°, IX. 21. 33 ; *Matsya*°, Ch. 50. 5.

रथीतराणां प्रवराः क्षत्रोपेता द्विजातयः ॥

Viṣṇu°, IV. 2. 2.

अप्रतिरथात्कण्वस्तस्यापि मेधातिथिः । यतो काण्वायना द्विजा बभूवुः ।

Viṣṇu°, IV. 19. 2, 10. *Matsya*°, Ch. 49. 46-47.

महावीर्यादुरुक्षयो नाम पुत्रोऽभूत् । तस्य..पुत्रत्रयमभूत् ।
तच्च त्रितयमपि पश्चाद् विप्रतामुपजगाम ।

Viṣṇu°, IV. 19. 10.

[R] चन्दं व विमलं सुद्धं विप्पसन्नमनाविलं ।
नन्दीभवपरिक्खीणं तमहं ब्रूमि ब्राह्मणं ॥
Dhammapada, 413.

[S] शमो दमस्तपः शौचं क्षान्तिरार्जवमेव च ।
ज्ञानं विज्ञानमास्तिक्यं ब्रह्मकर्म स्वभावजम् ॥
Bhagavad-Gītā, XVIII. 42.

शमो दमस्तपः शौचं सन्तोषः क्षान्तिरार्जवम् ।
ज्ञानं दयाच्युतात्मत्वं सत्यं च ब्रह्मलक्षणम् ॥
Bhāgavata°, VII. 11. 21 ; XI. 17. 16.

सत्यं दानं क्षमा शीलमानृशंस्यं तपो घृणा ।
दृश्यन्ते यत्र नागेन्द्र स ब्राह्मण इति स्मृतः ॥

Mahā°, *Vana*, 180. 21.

निर्ममो निरहं सुखी ।

Ātmopaniṣad, 11. Similar passages are also to be found in other minor *Upaniṣads*.

निर्ममो निरहङ्कारः° ।

Gītā, II. 71 ; XII 13.

निराशीर्निर्ममो° ।

Ibid, III 30.

निर्ममः शान्तो° ।

Ibid, XVIII, 53.

निर्ममा निरहङ्कारा निर्द्वन्द्वा निष्परिग्रहाः ॥

Mahā°, *Anu°*, 108. 5.

निर्ममो निरहङ्कारो निर्योगक्षेम आत्मवान् ।
निराशीर्निर्गुणः शान्तो निरासक्तो निराश्रयः ॥

Mahā°, *Aśva°*, 46 45-46 ; 47. 9, 15.

निर्ममो निरहङ्कारो निरपेक्षो निराशिषः ।
निराशः सर्वभूतेषु निराशीर्निष्परिग्रहः ॥
न सुवृत्तं न दुर्वृत्तं वेद कश्चित्स ब्राह्मणः ॥

Bṛhaspati vacanam, quoted in the *Yatidharma-saṃgraha*, p 89

15 सत्यं ब्रह्म तपः सत्यं° ।

Mahā°, *Śānti*, 190. 1.

सत्य ब्रह्म यथाभूतं ब्रुवन्तो ब्राह्मणाश्च ते ॥

Vāyu°, 8, 163.

16 निर्दयः सर्वभूतेषु विप्रश्चाण्डाल उच्यते ।

Atri°, *śloka*, 374.

18 न जात्या ब्राह्मणश्चात्र क्षत्रियो वैश्य एव च ।
न शूद्रो न च वै म्लेच्छो भेदिता गुणकर्मभिः ॥
शान्तो दान्तो दयालुश्च ब्राह्मणश्च गुणैः कृतः ॥

Śukranīti, I. [75-80 (lines)].

न जातिः कारणं तात गुणाः कल्याणकारणम् ।
वृत्तस्थमपि चाण्डालं तं देवा ब्राह्मणं विदुः ॥

Vyāsa-vacanam, quoted in the *Yatidharma°*, p. 37.

मिश्रदेशोद्भवा म्लेच्छाः काश्यपेनैव शासिताः ।
संस्कृताः शूद्रवर्णेन ब्रह्मवर्णमुपागताः ॥

Bhaviṣya°, Book 3, 94. 72.

म्लेच्छास्ते वैष्णवाश्चासन् रामानन्दप्रभावतः ॥

Ibid, Book 3, 95. 54.

[V] श्वयुवमघोनामतद्धिते ।

Pāṇini, VI. 4. 133.

19 वृषलीफेनपीतस्य° ।

Manu°, III. 19.

20 *Aṅgiras°*, I. 48 ; *Āpastamba°*, VIII 7 ; *Vyāsa°*, IV. 67.

21 शूद्रां शयनमारोप्य ब्राह्मणो यात्यधोगतिम् ॥
नाश्नन्ति पितृदेवास्तस्य च स्वर्गं स गच्छति ॥

Manu°, III. 17-18 ; *Mahā°*, *Anu°*, 47. 9 ;

यस्य शूद्रा पचेन्नित्यं शूद्रा च गृहमेधिनी ॥
वर्जितः पितृदेवैस्तु रौरवं याति स द्विजः ।

Vyāsa°, IV. 68.

[Y] सत्यकामो जाबालः—"नाहमेतद्वेद भो यद्गोत्रोऽहमस्म्यपृच्छं मातरं सा मा प्रत्यब्रवीद् बह्वहं चरन्ती परिचारिणी यौवने त्वामलभे। साहमेतन्न वेद यद्गोत्रस्त्वमसि। जबाला तु नामाहमस्मि, सत्यकामो नाम त्वमसीति। सोऽहं सत्यकामो जाबालोऽस्मि भो इति।"

......तं होवाच "नैतदब्राह्मणो विवक्तुमर्हति, समिधं सौम्याहरोप त्वा नेष्ये।"

Chāndogya°, IV. 4.

Thus, Satyakāma Jābāla, the illegitimate son of a maidservant was recognized as a Brāhmaṇa for his merit of truthfulness, by the Ṛṣi Gautama.

Kavaṣa Ailūṣa :—He too was the son of a slave-girl and so was insulted and driven away, from the assembly of a sacrifice, by the Ṛṣis. But afterwards, he was received and regarded as a Ṛṣi, on account of his merits, by the same Ṛṣis who had insulted him. He composed Vedic hymns (*Ṛgveda*, X. 30-34.) Vide *Aitareya*°, II. 19.

Kakṣīvān Auśija :—He was the son of a slave-girl who became a Ṛṣi, and composed Vedic hymns (*Ṛgveda*, I. 116-126). Vide *Vāyu*°, II. 37. 70 94.

Mahīdāsa Aitareya :—He was the son of a Śūdra woman (*itarā*). He became a Ṛṣi and composed a Brāhmaṇa and an Āraṇyaka, called after him (*viz.*, *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*).

22 Araṇī—a foreign woman ; *cf. araṇa*, foreigner.

23-26 हरिणीगर्भसम्भूत ऋष्यशृङ्गो महामुनिः ।
तपसा ब्राह्मणो जातः॰ ।
श्वपाकीगर्भसम्भूतः पिता व्यासस्य पार्थिव ।
तपसा ब्राह्मणो जातः॰ ।
उलूकीगर्भसम्भूतः कणादाख्यो महामुनिः ।
तपसा ब्राह्मणो जातः॰ ।
गणिकागर्भसम्भूतो वसिष्ठश्च महामुनिः ।
तपसा ब्राह्मणो जातः॰ ।
नाविकागर्भसम्भूतो मन्दपालो महामुनिः ।
तपसा ब्राह्मणो जातः॰ ।
Bhaviṣya°, Book 1, 42, 26-30.

27 Nārada was a son of a maidservant. Vide *Bhāgavata*°, I. 6. 6-7.

दे स्त्रिया ब्रह्मचर्येण ब्राह्मणत्वे॰ ।

Yatidharma°, p. 33

निर्गुणं निर्मलं ब्रह्म यत्र तिष्ठति स द्विजः ।

Maha°, *Anu°*, 143. 52 ; *Brahmapurāṇa*, 223. 59.

29-30 सत्यं दमस्तपो दानमहिंसा धर्मनित्यता ।

साधकानि सदा पुंसां न जातिर्न कुलं नृप ॥

Maha°, *Vana*, 181. 42 43

शूद्रे चैतद्भवेल्लक्ष्यं द्विजे तच्च न विद्यते ।

न वै शूद्रो भवेच्छूद्रो ब्राह्मणो न च ब्राह्मणः ॥

Maha°, *Vana*, 180. 25-26 ; *Śānti*, 189. 8.

31 ब्राह्मणोऽस्य मुखमासीद् बाहू राजन्यः कृतः ।

ऊरू तदस्य यद् वैश्यः पद्भ्यां शूद्रोऽजायत ॥

RV. 10. 90. 12 ; VS. 31. 11 ; AV. 19. 6. 6 ; TA. 3. 12. 5.

[CC] चत्वार एकस्य पितुः सुताश्च तेषां सुतानां खलु जातिरेका ।

एवं प्रजानां हि पितैक एव पित्रैकभावाच्च च जातिभेदः ॥

Bhaviṣya°, Book 1, 41. 45.

सर्वे वर्णा ब्राह्मणा ब्रह्मजाश्च

सर्वे नित्यं व्याहरन्ते स्म ब्रह्म ।

तत्त्वं शास्त्रं ब्रह्मबुद्ध्या ब्रवीमि

सर्वं विश्वं ब्रह्म चैतत्समस्तम् ॥

Maha°, *Śānti*, 318. 89.

[DD-HH] गोवर्णमध्यं च गतो यथाश्वो निर्धार्यते ज्ञैः सुविचक्षणत्वात् ।

मनुष्यभावादविशिष्यमाणस्तद्वद् द्विजः शूद्रगणाच्च भिन्नः ॥

Bhaviṣya°, Book 1, 40. 20.

न सुखादौ न वैधर्ये नाशायां नो भयेष्वपि ।

न वीर्ये नाकृतौ नाक्षे न व्यापारे न चायुषि ॥

नाङ्गे पुष्टे न दौर्बल्ये न स्थैर्ये नापि चापले ।

न प्रज्ञायां न वैराग्ये न धर्मे न पराक्रमे ॥

Thus, Satyakāma Jābāla, the illegitimate son of a maidservant was recognized as a Brāhmaṇa for his *merit of truthfulness*, by the Ṛṣi Gautama.

Kavaṣa Ailūṣa :—He too was the son of a slave-girl and so was insulted and driven away, from the assembly of a sacrifice, by the Ṛṣis. But afterwards, he was received and regarded as a Ṛṣi, *on* account of his merits, by the same Ṛṣis who had insulted him. He composed Vedic hymns (*Ṛgveda*, X. 30-34.) Vide *Aitareya*°, II. 19.

Kakṣīvān Auśija :—He was the son of a slave-girl who became a Ṛṣi and composed Vedic hymns (*Ṛgveda*, I. 116-126). Vide *Vāyu*°, II. 37. 70 94.

Mahīdāsa Aitareya :—He was the son of a Śūdra woman (*itarā*). He became a Ṛṣi and composed a Brāhmaṇa and an Āraṇyaka, called after him (*viz*., *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*).

22 Araṇī—a foreign woman ; cf. *araṇa*, foreigner.

23-26 हरिणीगर्भसम्भूत ऋष्यशृङ्गो महामुनिः ।
तपसा ब्राह्मणो जातः० ।
श्वपाकीगर्भसम्भूतः पिता व्यासस्य पार्थिव ।
तपसा ब्राह्मणो जातः० ।
उलूकीगर्भसम्भूतः कणादाख्यो महामुनिः ।
तपसा ब्राह्मणो जातः० ।
गणिकागर्भसम्भूतो वसिष्ठश्च महामुनिः ।
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नाविकागर्भसम्भूतो मन्दपालो महामुनिः ।
तपसा ब्राह्मणो जातः० ।
Bhaviṣya°, Book 1, 42. 26-30.

27 Nārada was a son of a maidservant. Vide *Bhāgavata*°, I. 6. 6-7.

ये स्थिता ब्रह्मचर्येण ब्राह्मणास्ते० ।

Yatidharma°, p. 33

निर्गुणे निर्मलं ब्रह्म यत्र तिष्ठति स द्विजः ।

Maha°, *Anu°*, 143. 52 ; *Brahmapurāṇa*, 223. 59.

29-30 सत्यं दमस्तपो दानमहिंसा धर्मनित्यता ।
साधकानि सदा पुंसां न जातिर्न कुलं नृप ॥

Maha°, *Vana*, 181. 42 43.

शूद्रे चैतद्भवेल्लक्ष्यं द्विजे तच्च न विद्यते ।
न वै शूद्रो भवेच्छूद्रो ब्राह्मणो न च ब्राह्मणः ॥

Maha°, *Vana*, 180. 25-26 ; *Śanti*, 189. 8.

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ऊरू तदस्य यद् वैश्यः पद्भ्यां शूद्रोऽजायत ॥
RV. 10. 90 12 ; VS. 31. 11 ; AV. 19. 6. 6 ; TA. 3. 12. 5.

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एवं प्रजानां हि पितैक एव पित्रैकभावान्न च जातिभेदः ॥

Bhaviṣya°, Book 1, 41. 45.

सर्वे वर्णा ब्राह्मणा ब्रह्मजाश्च
सर्वे नित्यं व्याहरन्ते स्म ब्रह्म ।
तत्त्वं शास्त्रं ब्रह्मबुद्ध्या ब्रवीमि
सर्वं विश्वं ब्रह्म चैतत्समस्तम् ॥

Maha°, *Śanti*, 318. 89.

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Bhaviṣya°, Book 1, 40. 20.

न सुखादौ न चैश्वर्ये नाज्ञायां नो भयेष्वपि ।
न वीर्ये नाकृतौ नाक्षे न व्यापारे न चायुषि ॥
नाङ्गे पुष्टे न दौर्बल्ये न स्थैर्ये नापि चापले ।
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Thus, Satyakāma Jābāla, the illegitimate son of a maidservant was recognized as a Brāhmaṇa for his merit of truthfulness, by the Ṛṣi Gautama.

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Mahā°, *Anu°*, 143. 52 ; *Brahmapurāṇa*, 223. 59.

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Mahā°, *Vana*, 181. 42 43.

शूद्रे चैतद्भवेल्लक्ष्यं द्विजे तच्च न विद्यते ।
न वै शूद्रो भवेच्छूद्रो ब्राह्मणो न च ब्राह्मणः ॥

Mahā°, *Vana*, 180. 25-26 ; *Śānti*, 189. 8.

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Bhaviṣya°, Book 1, 41. 45.

सर्वे वर्णा ब्राह्मणा ब्रह्मजाश्च
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Mahā°, *Śānti*, 318. 89.

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Bhaviṣya°, Book 1, 40. 20.

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न शौर्ये नाकृतौ नाक्षे न व्यापारे न चायुषि ॥
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न प्रज्ञायां न वैराग्ये न धर्मे न पराक्रमे ॥

[JJ] चातुर्वर्ण्यं प्रवक्ष्यामि पशुधर्मकथां तव ।
भवेत्त भगिनी भार्या नैतद् ब्राह्मण युज्यते ॥
यदि तावदयं लोको ब्रह्मणा जनितः स्वयम् ।
ब्राह्मणी ब्राह्मणस्वसा क्षत्रिया क्षत्रियस्वसा ॥
अथ वैश्यस्य वैश्या वै शूद्रा शूद्रस्य वा पुनः ।
न भार्या भगिनी युक्ता ब्रह्मणा जनिता यदि ॥
न सत्त्वा ब्रह्मणो जाताः क्लेशजाः कर्मजास्त्वमी ।
नीचैश्चोच्चैश्च दृश्यन्ते सत्त्वा नानाश्रयाः पृथक् ॥
तेषां च जातिसामान्याद् ब्राह्मणे क्षत्रिये तथा ।
अथ वैश्ये च शूद्रे च समं ज्ञानं प्रवर्तते ॥

Śardūlakarṇāvadāna, p. 41.

34 निधाय दण्डं भूतेसु तसेसु थावरेसु च,
यो न हन्ति न घातेति तमहं ब्रूमि ब्राह्मणं ।

Dhammapada, 405, *Sutta°*, 3 9 36

35 योऽध दीघं वा रस्सं वा अणुं थुलं सुभासुभं,
लोके अदिन्नं नादियति तमहं ब्रूमि ब्राह्मणं ।

Ibid, 409 ; *Sutta°*, 3. 9 40.

34-37 क्रोधः शत्रुः शरीरस्थो मनुष्याणां द्विजोत्तम ।
यः क्रोधमोहौ त्यजति तं देवा ब्राह्मणं विदुः ॥
यो वदेदिह सत्यानि गुरुं सन्तोषयेत च ।
हिंसितश्च न हिंसेत तं देवा ब्राह्मणं विदुः ॥
जितेन्द्रियो धर्मपरः स्वाध्यायनिरतः शुचिः ।
कामक्रोधौ वशौ यस्य तं देवा ब्राह्मणं विदुः ॥
यस्य चात्मसमो लोको धर्मज्ञस्य मनस्विनः ।
सर्वधर्मेषु चरतस्त देवा ब्राह्मणं विदुः ॥
धर्मं तु ब्राह्मणस्याहुः स्वाध्यायं दममार्जवम् ।
इन्द्रियाणां निग्रहं च शाश्वतं द्विजसत्तम ॥

Maha°, *Vana*, 205 32-40.

वृत्ते स्थितस्तु शूद्रोऽपि ब्राह्मणत्वं नियच्छति ॥

Ibid, Anu°, 143. 51.

न वै शूद्रो भवेच्छूद्रो ब्राह्मणो न च ब्राह्मणः ।

Vana, 180. 25-26 ; *Śanti*, 189. 8.

43-48 हेयोपादेयतत्त्वज्ञास्त्यक्तान्यायपथागमाः ।
जितेन्द्रियमनोवाचः सदाचारपरायणाः ॥१॥
नियमाचारवृत्तस्था हितान्वेषणतत्पराः ।
संसाररक्षणोपायक्रियायुक्तमनोरथाः ॥२॥
सम्यग्दर्शनसम्पन्नाः समाधिस्था हतक्रुधः ।
स्वाध्यायभक्तहृदयास्त्यक्तसङ्गा विमत्सराः ॥३॥
विशोका विमदाः शान्ताः सर्वप्राणिहितैषिणः ।
सुखदुःखसमालोका विविक्तस्थानवासिनः ॥४॥
मनोपयुक्तसर्वाङ्गा धार्मिकाः पापभीरवः ।
निर्ममा निरहङ्कारा दानशूरा दयापराः ॥५॥
सत्यब्रह्मविदः शान्ताः सर्वशास्त्रेषु निष्ठिताः । . . ६॥
ब्रह्मणा कृतमर्यादास्त एव ब्राह्मणाः स्मृताः ॥७॥
योगस्तपो दया दानं सत्यं धर्मश्रुतिर्घृणा ।
ज्ञानं विज्ञानमास्तिक्यमेतद् ब्राह्मणलक्षणम् ॥२८॥
यत्र वा तत्र वा वर्णे उत्तमाधममध्यमे ।
निवृत्तः पापकर्मभ्यो ब्राह्मणः स विधीयते ॥३०॥
शूद्रोऽपि शीलसम्पन्नो ब्राह्मणादधिको भवेत् ।
ब्राह्मणो विगताचारः शूद्राद्धीनतरो भवेत् ॥३१॥

Bhaviṣya°, Book 1, 44.

46 जीवितं यस्य धर्मार्थं धर्मो रत्यर्थमेव च ।
अहोरात्राश्च पुण्यार्थं तं देवा ब्राह्मणं विदुः ॥
Maha°, *Śanti*, 245. 23.

46 योऽध कामे पहत्वान अनागारो परिब्बजे,
कामभवपरिक्खीणं तमहं ब्रूमि ब्राह्मणं ।

Dhammapada, 415 ; *Sutta°*, 3. 9. 46.

48 सत्यं दानमथाद्रोहमानृशंस्यं तपो घृणा ।
दृश्यन्ते यत्र नागेन्द्र स ब्राह्मण इति स्मृतः ॥

Maha°, *Vana*, 180. 21 ; *Śanti*, 189. 4.

ज्ञानं विज्ञानमास्तिक्यं ब्रह्मकर्म स्वभावजम् ॥

Gita, XVIII. 42.

49 मनु II. 118.

50 एकरात्रोपितस्यापि यतेर्या गतिरुच्यते ।
न सा शक्या गृहस्थेन प्राप्तुं क्रतुशतैरपि ॥

Visnuvacanam quoted in the *Yatidharma°*, p 20

51 निर्मुक्तं बन्धनैः सर्वैस्तं देवा ब्राह्मणं विदुः ।

Maha°, *Śanti*, 244. 24.

52 यदा न कुरुते० ।

Maha°, *Ādi*, 75. 52 ; *Śanti*, 174. 57 ; 250. 6 ; 261. 17 ; *Harivamśa*, 30. 43.

यस्स कायेन वाचाय मनसा नत्थि दुक्कतं,
संवुतं तीहि ठानेहि तमहं ब्रूमि ब्राह्मणं ।

Dhammapada, 391.

अभयं सर्वभूतेभ्यः सर्वेषामभयं यतः ।
सर्वभूतात्मभूतो यस्तं देवा ब्राह्मणं विदुः ॥

Maha°, *Śanti*, 268 33.

न क्रुध्येन्न प्रहृष्येच्च मानितोऽमानितश्च यः ।
सर्वभूतेष्वभयदस्तं देवा ब्राह्मणं विदुः ॥

Śanti, 214 14.

वज्रसूच्युपनिषत्

वज्रसूचीं प्रवक्ष्यामि शास्त्रमज्ञानभेदनम् ।
दूषणं ज्ञानहीनानां भूषणं ज्ञानचक्षुषाम् ॥

[1]ब्रह्मक्षत्रियवैश्यशूद्रा इति चत्वारो वर्णास्तेषां[2] ब्राह्मण एव[3] प्रधान इति वेदवचना[4]नुरूपं स्मृति[5]भिरप्युक्तम् । तत्र चोद्यमस्ति को वा ब्राह्मणो नाम । किं जीवः किं देहः किं जातिः[6] किं ज्ञानं[7] किं कर्म [8]किं धार्मिक[9] इति ।

[10]तत्र प्रथमो जीवो ब्राह्मण इति [11]चेत्तन्न । अतीतानागत[12]वर्तमानानेकदेहानां जीवस्यैकरूपत्वात् । एकस्यापि कर्मवशादनेकदेहसम्भवात् । सर्वशरीराणां जीवस्यैकरूपत्वाच्च । तस्मान्न जीवो ब्राह्मण [13]इति ।

[14]तर्हि देहो ब्राह्मण इति चे[15]त्तन्न । आचाण्डालादिपर्यन्तानां मनुष्याणां[16] पाञ्चभौतिकत्वेन देहस्यैकरूपत्वाज्जरामरणधर्मा[17]दिसाम्यदर्शनात् । [18]ब्राह्मणः श्वेतवर्णः क्षत्रियो रक्तवर्णो वैश्यः पीतवर्णः शूद्रः कृष्णवर्ण[19] इति नियमाभावात् । [20]पित्रादिशरीरदहने पुत्रादीनां ब्रह्महत्यादिदोषसम्भवाच्च[21] । तस्मान्न[22] देहो ब्राह्मण [23]इति ।

1 W and some others read ब्राह्मण । 2 Some add वर्णानां । Some read : वर्णा व्यवह्रियन्ते । तेषां वर्णानां । 3 W omits. 4 W ०नाभिरूपितं । 5 W ०निरुक्तम् । 6 W adds किं वर्णः किं पाण्डित्यं किं धर्मः किं धार्मिक्यं । 7 W omits. 8-9 W इत्यष्टौ विकल्पाः । 9 Some read ०क्य किं वर्णः किं पाण्डित्यमित्यष्टौ प्रश्नाः । 10 W omits. 11-13 W चेत्तर्हि सर्वस्यापि जनस्य जीवस्यैकरूपत्वात्तस्माज्जीवो ब्रा० न भवत्येव । 12 Some omit वर्तमानानेक, some omit only वर्तमान । 14 W अन्यच्च । 15-17 W चेत्तर्हि चाण्डालपर्यन्तमनुष्याणां देहस्य जरामरणदर्शनात्तस्माद्देहो ब्राह्मणो न भवत्येव । 16 Some add पशुपक्षिकृमिकीटपतङ्गादीनां । 17 Some add अधर्म । 18 W adds अन्यच्च वर्णो ब्राह्मण इति चेत्तर्हि, some add तर्हि वर्णो ब्राह्मण इति चेन्न । 19 W एवं सर्वेषां वर्णादर्शनात् । तस्माद्वर्णो ब्राह्मणो न भवत्येव । 20 W पुनर्देहो ब्राह्मण इति चेत्तर्हि पितृमातृशरीरदहनात्पुत्राणां । 21 W ०म्भवः । 22 W ०द् । 23 W ०णो न भवत्येव ।

[24]तर्हि जातिर्ब्राह्मण इति चेत्तन्न[25]। तत्र जात्यन्तर[26]जन्तुष्वनेकजातिसम्भवा[27] महर्षयो बहवः सन्ति। ऋष्यशृङ्गो मृग्याः[28]। कौशिकः कुशात्[29]। [30]जाम्बूको जम्बूकात्। वाल्मीको[31] वल्मीकात्। व्यासः कैवर्तकन्यकायां। शशपृष्ठाद्गौतमः[32]। वसिष्ठ [33]उर्वश्यां। [34]विश्वामित्रः क्षत्रियायाम्। अगस्त्यः[35] कलशे[36] जात इति श्रुतत्वात्[37]। एतेषां जात्या विनापि [38]सम्यग्ज्ञानविशेषाद् ब्राह्मण्यमत्युत्तमं श्रूयते। तस्मा[39]न्न जातिर्ब्राह्मण [40]इति।

[41]तर्हि ज्ञानं ब्राह्मण इति चेत्तन्न। क्षत्रियादयोऽपि परमार्थदर्शिनोऽभिज्ञा बहवः सन्ति। तस्मान्न ज्ञानं ब्राह्मण इति[42]।

[43]तर्हि कर्म ब्राह्मण [44]इति चेत्तन्न। सर्वेषां प्राणिनां प्रारब्धसञ्चितागामिकर्मसाधर्म्यदर्शनात्कर्माभिप्रेरिताः सन्तो जनाः क्रियाः कुर्वन्तीति। तस्मान्न कर्म ब्राह्मण[45] इति[46]।

[47]तर्हि धार्मिको ब्राह्मण इति चे[48]त्तन्न। क्षत्रि[49]यवैश्यशूद्रादयोऽपि कन्यादानगजदानगोदानहिरण्यदानमहिषीदानानां दातारो बहवः सन्ति। तस्मान्न[50] धार्मिको ब्राह्मण[51] इति[52]।

24 W अन्यच्च। 25-27 W चेत्तर्हि अन्यजातिसमुद्भवा महर्षे॰। 26 Some omit जन्तु। 27 Some read ॰षात्। 28 Some read ॰श्यः, W ॰ग्यां जातः। 29 W कुशास्तीर्णे। 30 W omits. 31 W ॰किर्वल्मिक्यां। 32 W ॰पृष्ठे गौ॰। 33 W वेश्यायां। 34 Some omit, and some read ॰मित्रः क्षत्रियः। नारदो दासीपुत्रः। 35 W ॰स्तिः। 36 W ॰शाजा॰। 37 W श्रूयते। 38 Many read अन्ये (some अन्ये) ज्ञानप्रतिपादिता ऋषयो बहवः सन्ति। 39 W ॰ज्जात्या। 40 W °णो न भवत्येव। 41-42 W omits. 43 W अन्यच्च। 44 W ॰श्चेत्तर्हि ब्राह्मणस्य शतवर्षाणि जीवितं क्षत्रियस्य तदर्धं शूद्रस्य तदर्धमिति नियमाभावात्। तस्मात्कर्म॰। 45 W °णो न भवत्येव। 46 W adds अन्यच्च पाण्डित्यं ब्राह्मण इति चेत्। तर्हि क्षत्रियवैश्यशूद्रादयोपि पदपदार्थवाक्यप्रमाणविज्ञाना बहवः सन्ति। तस्मात्पाण्डित्यं ब्राह्मणो न भवत्येव। अन्यच्च धर्मो ब्राह्मण इति चेत्। तर्हि क्षत्रियवैश्यशूद्रादय इष्टापूर्तधर्मकारिणो बहवः सन्ति। तस्माद्धर्मो ब्राह्मणो न भवत्येव। 47 W अन्यच्च। 48 W ॰त्तर्हि। 49 Many read ॰यादयो हिरण्यदातारो बहव॰। 50 W °द्। 51 W °णो न भवत्येव। 52 Some add तर्हि पाण्डित्यं ब्राह्मण इति चेत्तन्न, क्षत्रियादयोऽपि पण्डिता बहवः सन्ति। तस्मान्न पाण्डित्यं ब्राह्मण इति।

तर्हि को वा ब्राह्मणो नाम । यः कश्चिद् आत्मानमद्वितीयं जातिगुणक्रियाहीनं षड्‌र्मिषड्भावेत्यादिसर्वदोषरहितं सत्यज्ञानानन्दानन्तस्वरूपं स्वयं निर्विकल्पमशेष[53]कल्पाधारमशेषभूतान्तर्यामित्वेन वर्तमानमन्तर्बहिश्चाकाशवदनुस्यूतमखण्डानन्दस्वभावमप्रमेयमनुभवैकवेद्यमपरोक्षतया भासमानं करतलामलकवत्साक्षादपरोक्षीकृत्य कृतार्थतया कामरागादिदोषरहितः शमदमादि[54]सम्पन्नो [55]भावमात्सर्यतृष्णाऽऽशामोहादिरहितो दम्भाहङ्कारादिभिरसंस्पृष्टचेता[56] वर्तत एवमुक्तलक्षणो यः स एव ब्राह्मण इति श्रुतिस्मृतिपुराणेतिहासानामभिप्रायः । अन्यथा हि ब्राह्मणत्वसिद्धिर्नास्त्येव ।

सच्चिदानन्दमात्मानमद्वितीयं ब्रह्म भावयेदात्मानं सच्चिदानन्दं ब्रह्म भावयेदित्युपनिषत् ।

53 Some read त्रिक॰ । 54 Some add साधन । 55 Some read लोभमदमा॰ । 56 Some read ॰ष्टो वेत्ता ।

Page 51 : W reads : किं तु करतलामलकमिव [यः] पश्यत्यपरोक्षेण कृतार्थः। तथा कामरागद्वेषादिरहितः शमदमादिसन्तोषो मानमात्सर्यतृष्णासम्मोहादिदुश्चर्यनिवृत्तः स एव ब्राह्मण उच्यते ।` तथा हि :

जन्मना जायते शूद्रो व्रतबन्धाद् द्विजोच्यते ।
वेदाभ्यासी भवेद्विप्रो ब्रह्म जानाति ब्राह्मणः ॥

अत एव ब्रह्मविदेव ब्राह्मणो नान्य इति निश्चयः ॥

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